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**PARENTING, IDENTITY AND CULTURE IN AN ERA OF MIGRATION AND
GLOBALIZATION: HOW BANGLADESHI PARENTS NAVIGATE AND
NEGOTIATE CHILD-REARING PRACTICES IN THE USA**

A Dissertation Presented

by

MOHAMMAD MAHBOOB MORSHED

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

September 2018

College of Education

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DEDICATION

To my lovely daughter Orrorin and my wonderful wife Sumera. You two fulfill my life.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my deepest sense of gratitude to the research participants for their willingness to participate in the study and generously sharing their experiences with me. It has been an extremely insightful and humbling experience for me to learn about their lives, their stories, their resilience and their dreams.

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to my committee members for their encouragements, supports, and critiques. I am grateful to advisor, Jacqueline Mosselson, Ph.D., for her many years of thoughtful, patient guidance and support. I feel very privileged to have Dr. Mosselson as my advisor who not only guided me throughout the course of my Ph.D., but also mentored me for my future career growth, trusted me and respected me as a colleague and as a person. I look forward to continuing my academic journey with Dr. Mosselson as a colleague, as a mentor and as a companion. Thanks are also due to my committee members, John Carey, Ph.D., and Leda Cooks, Ph.D. for their helpful comments and suggestions on all stages of this study.

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I am deeply thankful to my friends at the Center for International Education. Special thanks to Hye Seung Cho, Stephen Richardson, and Yaëlle Stempfelet. Without their support, it would not have been possible to emotionally survive this long and difficult journey. Last but not the least, I would like to acknowledge my family members: my parents, my wife, my daughter, my in-laws and my siblings, whose love, support, sincere wish and patience brought me here today. I am truly blessed to have you in my life.

ABSTRACT

PARENTING, IDENTITY AND CULTURE IN AN ERA OF MIGRATION AND GLOBALIZATION: HOW BANGLADESHI PARENTS NAVIGATE AND NEGOTIATE CHILD-REARING PRACTICES IN THE USA

SEPTEMBER 2018

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Globalization puts into challenge the singular notion of identity and culture.

Immigrant parents must navigate multiple cultural systems and constantly redefine their identities in order to cope with a new way of being. This dissertation is aimed at learning about this cultural encounter faced by Bangladeshi immigrant parents living in Western Massachusetts region of the USA. More specifically, I studied immigrant Bangladeshi parents' identity negotiations, their navigation of transnational spaces, and cultural negotiation in relation to their children's schooling.

My research is informed by cultural theories of immigration and globalization. Guattari's concept of 'existential territory' (Guattari, 1995, 2000), Appadurai's ideas of 'scape' in explaining the process of globalization (Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2000, 2002), Hall's concept of cultural identity (Hall, 1990) and Bhabha's (1994) idea of cultural hybridity served as theoretical resources for the study. I followed qualitative research approach with a focus on experiential paradigm to learn about the subjective and lived experiences of parents. I used criteria-sampling (Patton, 2002) to select 13 parents from 8

families and conducted genogram construction, in-depth interviews and follow-up interviews with them. I also interviewed 2 family members, 4 adolescent children and 2 community members-all selected based on pre-established criteria.

The findings related to first research question suggested that Bangladeshi parents were open to changes and made intentional choices to interconnect Bangladeshi and U.S. culture as they reconstructed their identities. The second theme discussed how parents navigated transnational spaces. Three physical spaces namely as Western Massachusetts, New York and Bangladesh created a sense of imagined, complex, interconnected homelands as they made sense of their cultural experiences of parenting. Findings related to the third research question revealed that parents showed a complex set of intentional behaviors such as enthusiasm, selectivity, compromise, reluctance and fear as they embraced hopes and opportunities and navigated competing and contradictory cultural demands of their children's schooling. The central arguments of this dissertation situated parenting as nuance experiences of disjuncture, hope and opportunities where parents navigate culture and identity through intentionality and informed choices to create a newer form of existence in a globalized world.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

Parenting is typically defined as a culture-specific practice that follows a given culture's norms, and values for child-rearing (Wise & da Silva, 2007). Parents' identity shaped by their culture plays a vital role in their child-rearing practices (Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992). However, due to increased globalization, people are crossing the national boundaries and living in foreign lands in an unprecedented rate. As people are migrating, they are increasingly coming into contact and interacting with different culture; at the same time rapid advancement of technology and communication enables them to maintain ties with their homeland and their own culture in an unprecedented rate. Thus, the increased globalization puts into challenge the bounded and singular notion of identity and culture. This faces immigrants with a reality where they have to negotiate and navigate multiple cultural systems and values and constantly redefine their boundaries and identities in order cope with a new way of being. In particular, immigrant parents have to face enormous challenges as they attempt to rear their children in a new cultural context while maintaining and respecting the child-rearing norms and traditions of their home country.

This study aimed at learning about this cultural encounter faced by Bangladeshi immigrant parents as they engage themselves in parenting in the USA. At present there are about 277,000 Bangladeshi immigrants and their children living in the USA and almost half of them came in last 15 years (Migration Policy Institute [MPI], 2014, p. 1) which indicates there is a rapid increase in migration in recent years. Bangladeshi

immigrants in the USA are relatively young with 84% of first generation having an overall median age of 39 (MPI, 2014, p. 1) and 80% of second generation Bangladeshis are below 18 years of age (MPI, 2014, p. 3). This relative younger age of Bangladeshi adults and children makes it particularly important to learn how Bangladeshi immigrant parents are navigating different cultural terrain in the USA. Bangladeshi immigrants have different ethnic, racial and religious identities than the mainstream white Americans. As part of daily lives and parenting activities, they have to interact with majority white Americans on a regular basis. Besides, they also frequently interact with other minority groups in the USA, particularly people from South Asia, middle-East and other Asian countries. Trying to understand and make sense of the cultural encounters and how Bangladeshi parents navigate their parenting practice in these encounters was the main motivation of this study.

In this study, I tried to understand how Bangladeshi parents' sense of identity is shaped and reshaped by the interaction between the culture they were brought up in and the culture they are living in at present as these cultures comes into play, interact and conflict and how the parents navigated and negotiated their child rearing practices through this cultural encounter. Critical psychology and cultural studies theoretically guided the conceptualization of the study. Critical psychology and cultural studies help understand how cultural interactions shape and reshape human experiences and identities. They also provide useful theoretical resources that view immigrants in a more egalitarian manner as opposed to long held notion which views immigration as merely an assimilatory process. In particular, Guattari's concept of existential territory (Guattari, 1995, 2000), Appadurai's ideas of scapes, deterritorialization and globalization as

disjuncture (Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2000, 2002), Hall's concept of cultural identity (Hall, 1990) and Bhabha's idea of cultural hybridity (Bhabha, 1994) served as analytical frameworks for the study. These theoretical resources provided important insights how globalization shapes human experiences, challenges the traditional notions of human boundaries marked by geographical territories and how immigrants have to constantly define and redefine their identities as a result of cultural encounters across boundaries.

Bangladeshi Immigrants in the USA

Migration of Bangladeshi people to the United States can be traced back in its colonial past and as early as late 18th and early 19th century when some Bengalis working for British merchant navy eventually landed in the USA and settled there (Sikder, 2008). However, in literature this small number of migration was considered under the label of general South Asian immigration in the USA (Bald, 2007). The first wave of significant immigration took place in 1960s when people from the then East Pakistan and present Bangladesh came to the USA largely as students and later stayed there as professionals or skilled immigrants. This group of migrants was well-educated and is regarded as the founder of Bangladeshi diaspora in the USA (Siddiqui, 2004). But the migration took a high escalation in 1990s when U.S. government announced Opportunity Visa (OP-1) and Diversity Visa (DV) which allowed many less schooled population to come to the U.S. to reside permanently and eventually become citizens (Siddiqui, 2004). Majority of the Bangladeshi immigrants live in New York and surrounding states (Migration Policy Institute, 2014). A good number of populations also live in California, Texas, Michigan and Florida (Migration Policy Institute, 2014). However, with the increased migration,

Bangladeshi immigrants are now spreading out of the traditional immigration destinations. The research on Bangladeshi immigrants is limited and the available limited research mostly focused on major immigration destinations. There is a serious lack of research on Bangladeshi immigrants located in non-traditional immigration destinations.

In terms of demographic characteristics, 84% of these first-generation Bangladeshi immigrants are working age with an overall median age of 39 (MPI, 2014, p. 1). The children of Bangladeshi immigrants who are second generation Bangladeshi-Americans have a median age of 9 (MPI, 2014, p. 3). For 79% of second generation U.S.-born Bangladeshi-American children, both of their parents were born in Bangladesh and 11% of these children have at least one parent who was born in Bangladesh (MPI, 2014, p. 3). In addition to the immigrant Bangladeshis, there are significant numbers of Bangladeshis living temporarily in the USA under student, dependent, employment and other visit visas.

Both in terms of academic attainment and household income Bangladeshi diaspora ranks higher than overall U.S. population (MPI, 2014). In terms of family characteristics, the family relationships are more hierarchical between male-female, husband-wife and parent-child in general (Uddin, 2008). Although the Bangladeshi immigrants cannot enjoy the extended family relations that they used to have in Bangladesh, they keep a close tie with families back in Bangladesh and provide financial assistance to their older parents and close relatives as needed (Stevanovic, 2012). Bangladeshi immigrants maintain a strong community tie and form locality-based social, cultural and religious organizations which organize different social and cultural programs that exhibit strong bondage and identity ties with Bangladesh (Kibria, 2013). Besides,

several Bangladeshi media companies including Television channels and newspapers opened their business in the U.S. which not only promoted business but are welcomed by immigrants also as they serve them the purpose of being connected with Bangladesh and maintain its cultural traditions (Kibria, 2009). They also regularly arrange and celebrate national days and festivals of Bengali culture (Khondaker, 2007). In general, as the current research literature suggests, Bangladeshi immigrants expect their U.S.-born children to follow and celebrate Bangladeshi cultural traditions and maintain Bengali identities (Khondaker, 2007). However, there was no thorough research on how Bangladeshi parents navigate and negotiate differences between their own culture, dominant USA culture and other minority cultures in the USA in relation to parenting. Therefore, it was important to understand their experiences of child-rearing and how their identities are shaped and reshaped by this cultural encounter.

Western Massachusetts: The Research Site

This research was aimed at learning about child-rearing of Bangladeshi parents living in Western Massachusetts. Western Massachusetts is located in western part of Massachusetts, a north-eastern U.S. state. The region Western Massachusetts includes four counties: Berkshire, Franklin, Hampden and Hampshire. As of 2015, the region has a total of 831,881 population with 74.44% white, 15.48% Hispanic, 5.41% Black, 2.57% Asian and 1.86% multiracial representations. It is to be noted that the percentage of white population in Hampden, the largest county and home to the largest city of the region Springfield, is 64% and the Hispanic population is 24%. The other three counties are White dominant with approximate 88% of White population combined for these counties.

The median age of Western Massachusetts population is 39.64. Western Massachusetts has a total of 319599 households with a median household income of \$52,925. In terms of economy, the region specializes in Educational services, Arts, entertainment and recreation, healthcare and social assistance, Utilities, Finance and insurance, Agriculture, Forestry, fishing and hunting¹.

Western Massachusetts is well known for its higher education. The region has 22 universities with approximately 100,000 students. In 2015, colleges and universities in the region awarded 22,682 college degrees. Among degree awardees, number of female students is higher than that of male. For each female graduate there are 0.62 male graduates awarded college degrees². Massachusetts, as a state, is renowned for its higher concentration on tertiary education institutions as well as many highly reputed higher education institutions. Western Massachusetts is home to several famous college towns and well-known for its focus on liberal arts. Many artists and thinkers have found inspiration for their work from this place. It has world famous museums, performing arts centers and the universities welcome students and their culture from across the globe. The higher concentration of tertiary education institutions, a tradition of arts and culture, appreciation to cultural diversity, progressive and promotion of liberal and progressive thinking, strong presence of community organizations provide an encouraging environment for many international students seeking higher education and many

¹ There is no data found for Western Massachusetts region as a whole. However, data were available for each county. The data presented in this paragraph was obtained by combining the county-wise data. The sources are: <https://datausa.io/profile/geo/hampshire-county-ma/>, <https://datausa.io/profile/geo/hampden-county-ma/>, <https://datausa.io/profile/geo/franklin-county-ma/>, and <https://datausa.io/profile/geo/berkshire-county-ma/>.

² Same data sources as mentioned in footnote 1 are used to obtain the data presented in this paragraph.

immigrants seeking for a nice place to start a family. From my personal experience, I have found that immigrants usually feel very safe and at home in Western Massachusetts. In general, their notion is this place is welcoming, or at the least not hostile, for immigrants. Many of the immigrants I am personally acquainted with believed that they generally felt welcome in the place although they come from different racial, ethnic, or religious backgrounds than the white dominant population in the region. Many immigrant families, not only from Bangladesh but from other countries also, felt that resources for families and children are greater in the region and the quality of schooling is good which make Western Massachusetts a good place to raise children and families.

Bangladeshi Immigrants in Western Massachusetts

Western Massachusetts is not a traditional or popular destination for Bangladeshi immigrants. While the total percentage of Bangladeshi-born population is 0.5% of the total foreign-born U.S. population, this rate is lower in Massachusetts and even further lower in Western Massachusetts. 0.3% of total Massachusetts' foreign-born population is Bangladeshi born. For Western Massachusetts, there are county-wise variations. For example, the percentage of Bangladeshi-born population is 0.3% of total foreign-born Hampshire county population, perhaps because of a large public university and several liberal arts colleges. In Berkshire county this rate is 0.1% and in Hampden it is less than 0.1%. In Franklin county the presence of Bangladeshi-born population is even lower, closer to 0%³. So, comparing the overall U.S. data and Massachusetts data of foreign-

³ There is no data found for Western Massachusetts region as a whole. However, data were available for each county. The data presented in this paragraph was obtained by combining the county-wise data. The sources are: <http://www.towncharts.com/Massachusetts/Demographics/Berkshire-County-MA-Demographics-data.html>, [http://www.towncharts.com/Massachusetts/Demographics/Hampshire-County-](http://www.towncharts.com/Massachusetts/Demographics/Hampshire-County-MA-Demographics-data.html)

born population, we notice that the presence of Bangladeshi-born population in Western Massachusetts is low. From my experience of living in the U.S., I have observed that the Bangladeshi immigrants living in Western Massachusetts belong to a relatively wealthier economic class in Bangladesh and have higher educational background. While in large cities such as in New York, the Bangladeshi immigrants are more mixed population in terms of their economic classes and educational backgrounds in Bangladesh, Bangladeshi immigrants in Western Massachusetts have typically higher educational and economic background. They are typically engaged in professions that require high or middle level skills. A higher socioeconomic background may contribute to differences in identity negotiations between Bangladeshi parents in Western Massachusetts and large cities in the USA. The findings in this study also indicate some differences in parents' identity negotiations compared to the findings in other researches on Bangladeshi parents conducted in large city contexts. However, a systemic comparison was beyond the scope and the objectives of this study. Besides, the economic and educational differences I have mentioned above are derived from my own personal observation. While there are specific statistics available for Bangladeshis living in large cities such as in New York, I could not find comparable statistics for Bangladeshis living in Western Massachusetts.

Research Questions

The aim of the research was to understand Bangladeshi parents' lived experiences of parenting in the USA and how parenting served as an important site for cultural and

MA-Demographics-data.html, <http://www.towncharts.com/Massachusetts/Demographics/Hampden-County-MA-Demographics-data.html>, and <http://www.towncharts.com/Massachusetts/Demographics/Franklin-County-MA-Demographics-data.html>

identity shifts in an era of globalization for immigrant Bangladeshi parents in the USA.

More specifically, I aimed at answering the following interrelated research questions:

1. How are immigrant Bangladeshi parents' identities shaped by the cultural encounter and experiences in relation to parenting?
2. How do parents navigate transnational spaces to negotiate and navigate cultural differences and maximize their benefits as parents?

As a research in the field of international education, I was further interested in learning about parents' engagement with their children's education. So, my third research question was:

3. What are parents' experiences in relation to their children's schooling and how they navigate it?

Rationale of the Study

Parenting among immigrant population in the USA in general and Bangladeshi immigrants in particular is an under-researched topic. There is a paucity of knowledge in this topic in the scholarship. This study is expected to bring into light the knowledge on parenting of an increasingly growing yet under-researched Bangladeshi immigrant minority population. This study is expected to fill in this knowledge gap by addressing important questions related to identity as cultural constructs, and the way in which these constructs intersect to influence the child-rearing practices of Bangladeshi parents as they negotiated and navigated their own culture and the culture they experienced in the USA in an era of globalization.

This study is expected to shed light on the intersection among parenting, identity and globalization. Existing research on child-rearing among immigrant population mostly focus on support needs and challenges of child-rearing. Besides, although there are many studies on identity of immigrant population; there is a paucity of scholarship that investigates how child-rearing serves as an important site for identity negotiation and renegotiation in a globalized context.

As a study group, Bangladeshi immigrants deserved attention on their own right. In academic literature, Bangladeshi immigrants were frequently considered under the label of general South Asian migrants in the USA (Bald, 2007). While Bangladesh geographically is situated in South Asia, Bangladeshis have their own unique language, social, cultural and national heritage and identities. Collapsing them under the large category of South Asia keeps them in the shadow and marginalizes their voice. Besides, the number of Bangladeshis in the USA is rapidly increasing in the recent years. Learning about Bangladeshi parents would help promote understanding on how this growing minority group in the USA navigate and negotiate different cultural spaces in the USA as they engage in parenting.

This research took place outside of the conventional migration destination for Bangladeshis. This research involved parents who are located in Western Massachusetts which is not a traditional migration destination for Bangladeshis. The available research on Bangladeshi migrants largely took place in New York or other large cities where there is relatively a big Bangladeshi community available and immigrants can seek out for material and symbolic resources, identity and well-being maintenance in their own ethnic enclave. Conducting this research outside of the popular migration destinations, I hoped,

would allow to generate important knowledge on how the parents who are not located inside a Bangladeshi enclave and thus have to deal with less social and cultural support from their fellow countrymen due to lack of presence of such enclaves, negotiate and renegotiate their child-rearing.

The existing family research on Bangladeshi immigrants mostly involved mothers as research participants. The presence of fathers and their accounts is almost absent in scholarship on Bangladeshi immigrants in the USA. This research tried to understand both fathers' and mothers' view and thus is expected to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the issue to be studied in this proposed research.

Finally, this study is significant from the perspective of education. Parenting serves as an important site for transmission and negotiation of learning about culture and society. Besides, the way parents raise their children and the cultural norms and values they promote in families have implications for academic and social learning in schools. Moreover, this study dedicated a significant effort in learning about parent's culture and identity negotiation in the context of children's schooling and how school and families intersected in shaping parenting experiences and practices. Therefore, this study is relevant for the discipline of education and learning as well.

Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation is organized in seven chapters. A brief outline of each chapter is provided in the following paragraphs.

Chapter 1 provided a general overview of the research. It briefly discussed the problem this dissertation studied by providing a problem statement. It also provided a

brief description of the immigrant Bangladeshis in the U.S. in general. It then described Western Massachusetts as the research site and provided a brief overview of Bangladeshi immigrants living there. Finally, chapter I outlined the major research questions and provided rationale of the study.

Chapter 2 presented the literature review and analytical framework for the dissertation. It discussed the key literature on globalization and its effect on identity and culture in general. It then presented the existing literature on parenting and globalization and more specifically literature on Bangladeshi parents and families. Finally, the chapter provided an analytical framework that was used to guide the research.

Chapter 3 discussed the research methodology for this dissertation. It outlined the research approach, methods, participants and research tools for the study. It also described the data collection, management and analysis plan and translation and transcription process of data. The chapter further discussed researcher subjectivity and identity, ethical considerations, trustworthiness, credibility and delimitations of the study.

Chapter 4-6 presented the key findings for the research. Chapter 4 discussed the identity negotiation of immigrant Bangladeshi parents in Western Massachusetts. It highlighted how their immigrant lives were shaped by disjuncture, hope and opportunity and how they navigated these contrasting demands. Chapter 5 illustrated three key spaces namely as Western Massachusetts, New York and Bangladesh, that shaped parents' experiences. It also illustrated how parents navigated these spaces to meet the demands of different cultural systems and to maximize their benefits as parents. Chapter 6 focused on children's schooling. It discussed how parents negotiated and navigated different norms

in school culture and teaching-learning, the issue of intergenerational relations, cultural differences, language differences and diversity and segregations.

Chapter 7 is the final chapter of the dissertation. It provided a synthesis of key findings for each research question. It also provided an overall synthesis of the findings. The chapter further described the contribution of the dissertation to the field, ideas for further research and concluding remarks.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter provides relevant literature review and analytical framework for the dissertation. The chapter is organized in four sections. The first section provides a general discussion on globalization and its influence on identity and culture. This section sets the theoretical and conceptual tone of the dissertation. The second section discusses the available research on immigrant parents' identity and culture as they navigate and negotiate parenting in an increasingly globalized world. The third section draws on existing research on Bangladeshi immigrant parents' experience of child-rearing in the USA and other western immigration destinations and highlights the justification for this research. The final section provides a brief analytical framework of the dissertation based on the discussion in previous sections.

Globalization, Identity and Culture

Globalization refers to a complex process of economic, demographic, social and cultural flows, changes and exchanges that transcends the boundary of local and national (Basch, Glick, & Szanton-Blanc, 1994). While globalization is not new, it is taking place at an unprecedented rate at present time. Increased migration, trade and commerce, advancement of technology and tourism have created a complex environment where people from distant localities and spaces are brought together to an extent that calls for an entire shift on how we define culture, identities, spaces and existences. Increased globalization has caused a shift from the binary or bipolar idea of space and time to a multidimensional global space (Giddens, 1990; Kearney, 1995). It has put into challenge

the bounded, binary and polarized notion of construction of human experiences and culture such as merely assimilating to the host culture or giving up the host culture altogether. Globalization is generally defined in economic terms such as trade, capital, finance, commerce, transnational corporation, consumerism and so on (e.g., Sklair, 1999; Waters, 1995). But it has significant impact on human lives and experiences which is relatively less discussed (Tierney, 2004). A central psychological consequence of globalization is the way it transforms immigrants' lived experiences, culture and identities (Arnett, 2002). The effects of globalization on immigrants are complex, nuanced and can be interpreted in multiple ways. There are several major strands on how social scientists have analyzed and perceived globalization's effect on immigrant experiences. They are briefly discussed below.

Cultural Homogeneity

There are a group of scholars who emphasized globalization's potential of connecting people from different and disparate culture and locality. They argue that rapid advancement of technology and world-wide dominance of neoliberal economy has resulted in time-space compression and brought people from different places together (e.g., Harvey, 1989; Giddens, 1990; Kellner, 2002). Giddens (1990) stressed that because of the development of a complex system of economic production and exchange and rapidly growing global information and communication technologies local circumstances are no longer the primary or only determinant of economies and human lives. People's lives and livelihoods in a particular region can be determined by economic situation and decisions made by people living in another part of the globe. For example, the livelihoods

and income of Scottish miners might be more dependent on the pricing decisions of the Australian or South African in the global market than to local Scottish coal market (McGrew, 2007). Similarly, the wage and salaries of Bangladeshi garment workers might be dependent on the buyers and consumers in Europe and the USA. These impacts are not limited at economic level only. Because of growing interconnectedness and interdependence, the world is becoming a global cultural melting pot of different culture. Best and Kellner (2001) argued that the global economy and technological advancement connects human society and culture as a positive force for human freedom. People are increasingly living and working in a multicultural environment, interacting with people from other culture, exchanging and experiencing cultures in terms of food and cuisine, watching movies, connecting with people in social media and so on. For example, People in Nigeria watch Indian movies, Somalians consume wheat produced in Canada, Bangladeshi women produce garments for Calvin Klein (Inda & Rosaldo, 2002). These are all examples of growing cultural homogeneity and connectedness. According to the scholar advocating for globalization's power of connectivity the world is becoming a global village. The idea of national identities is gradually fading and people are becoming global citizens. People from different culture are increasingly consuming similar material products and affiliating themselves with similar cultural symbols which are creating homogeneity in global culture (Weist, 2004).

Bicultural Existence

Some scholars argue that instead of becoming a cultural melting pot, globalization is leading to a bicultural identity formation. Bicultural identity refers to the idea that one

part of immigrants' identity is rooted in their own culture, while the other part embraces the dominant culture where they are located in (Arnett, 2002; Berry, 1993, 1997; Phinney, 1990). These two parts can go alongside, but are distinct and can be kept separated; they do not necessarily interact with each other to a significant degree. While adherence to local or own identity helps people keep rooted in and connected to their own culture, the other part ensures people are also connected to dominant culture in an increasingly globalized environment. Condon's (1988) research provided an example of bicultural identity and illustrated how Inuit adolescents keep connected to rest of Canada and the world through watching TV and travelling to large cities for study and work, but also maintain their distinct Inuit cultural values, norms and practices while they interact within their community. Similar findings were noted in Verma and Saraswathi's (2002) research where highly skilled Indian immigrant youth in the West interact with people from different culture and develop a multicultural identity in their work setting, while maintain their Indian tradition and culture in family relations, marriage and other key family responsibilities. The bicultural concept of identity thus still focuses, at least partly, on assimilation where immigrants must completely adhere to dominant cultures' norms and values at the cost of marginalization of their own identity. It also rules out any possibility of interconnection between two or multiple cultures.

Identity Confusion

Identity confusion is another aspect of the consequence of globalization on immigrant people's identity and existence. Arnett (2002) reviewed existing literature on globalization's psychological consequences on culture and identity and found that

identity confusion is one of the aspects of globalization. The rapid changes in global cultural systems, the differences in representation and meaning making, the opportunities of being part of a global or dominant cultural group leads to a thinking among immigrants that undermines their own local culture. The local culture is not any more sufficient or relevant for coping up with the needs, demands and opportunities of this rapidly changing globalized world. At the same time, the global or the dominant culture is rapidly changing to an extent that some immigrants may feel it difficult to create a sense of belonging, to be able to keep pace with the change (Arnett. 2002). Thus, they can neither keep anchored to their own culture, nor can they belong to the dominant culture. This creates a sense of alienation, up-rootedness and confusion among some immigrants.

Cultural Continuity vs Hybridity

A key conceptualization of understanding how globalization can shape and reshape human experience is the notion of cultural hybridity. Immigrant identities have been defined in different ways along a wide range of spectrum. At one end of the spectrum is the traditional and prevalent concept that defines identity as a relatively stable and fixed construct based on a sense of attachment to a particular cultural group and embracing its values, beliefs, attitudes (Jensen, 2003). A sense of being based on sameness, familiarity, unity, shared values and belongingness drives identity formation according to this view. It emphasizes the common historical experiences and cultural norms and values that create a sense of stable, fixed and continuous idea of identity to promote the notion of one or same people among a cultural group (Hall, 1996). This

fixedness and continuity provide an anchor, a stability which helps fade the memory of divisions, discontinuities and ruptures. At the other end of the spectrum is the proponents of cultural hybridity. According to proponents of cultural hybridity identity is a process that is never completed, rather “fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions” (Hall, 1996, p. 4). Hybridity refers to a constant and complex interaction between these identities to create a new form of identity. Global media, free market economy, migration and so on in a globalized world have caused local identities to be influenced by global cultural and economic forces to develop a multicultural and complex hybrid identity among immigrant population. It argues that the sameness, the fixedness of cultural or national identity are not natural, rather often is achieved through a long historical process of violent conquest, suppression of cultural difference and cultural hegemony (Hall, 1996). In contrast, it views identity as not situated in a single, shared cultural value, rather as fluid, in constant changes and flux that cannot be fixed (Gergen, 1991). Identity in this sense is a process of a continuous transformation through rupture and discontinuities because of historical and cultural forces and play of power (Hall, 1996). It considers identity as a process of becoming than being as it constantly changes as a result of important historical, social and cultural developments such as globalization, modernity, rapid improvement of technology and so on. This idea is particularly relevant for diaspora population who must reinvent themselves through a process of constant change, negotiation and renegotiation of their identities as they try to find a home in a foreign land.

Proponents of hybrid culture and identities as a result of globalization do not subscribe to the dichotomies of global vs local or macro vs micro. They do not perceive culture as connected or disjointed; rather they focus more on how transnational migration shapes and reshapes ethnic identities of immigrants from different backgrounds. According to this view, culture and identity are positional, ever changing and context-specific. It is not fixed; rather is poised between different cultural meaning making systems and can simultaneously draw from and build on the differences, contradictions and dilemma of those different cultural systems (Hall, 2007). The scholars supporting the view consider major categories of identities such as culture, ethnicity, race, nationality as not solid or static, rather fluid, negotiated, and hybrid (see Bhabha, 1994; Gilroy, 1993; Hall 1992). For example, Hall (1992) pointed that the identity construction of Afro-Caribbean population in England as a ‘black’ racial and cultural category was fluid, changing and dependent on the context. Gilroy (1993) also found that a compound culture of black settlers in England did not see their identity as racially static; rather they defined their identity based on their history of slave trade and the colonial exploration within an Atlantic micro-cultural political system (Gilroy 1993, p. 15). Bhabha (1994) argued that in transnational migration settings, immigrants occupy a space that is neither ‘one’ nor ‘another’, rather a different space what he called ‘third space’ or an ‘ambivalent space’. He stressed that “we should remember that it is the ‘inter’—the cutting edge of translation and negotiation, the in-between space—that carries the burden of the meaning of culture” (Bhabha, 1994, p. 38). Gardner and Oscella (2003) also stressed that migration makes people face a concrete reality that breaks down the opposition between different geographical locations and migrants have to constantly negotiate and renegotiate

with inside and outside of their culture and society. Thus, the binaries and essentialism are replaced by hybridity, fluidity and flexibility. These arguments highlight that immigrant identity is not fixed; rather are fluid outcomes of constantly shifting positions, contexts and history. Identities always evolve; they do not remain static.

Deterritorialization and Disjuncture

There are another group of scholars who posit different views to globalization and identity. As opposed to connectedness, homogeneity or bicultural discourse, they argue that globalization is creating deterritorialization and disjuncture (e.g., Appadurai 1990, 1996, 2002, 2002; Silverstein 2004). According to them, while people from different culture are increasingly living closer in virtual and physical spaces, they are still largely deterritorialized, disjointed and disconnected. Appadurai's (1990, 1996, 2002) works can be very useful in understanding how immigrants' lived experiences and identities are shaped and reshaped across deterritorialized spaces in a globalized world. Appadurai (2000) defined globalization as rapid and disjunctive. While it can create opportunities for upward mobilization through migration, globalization largely promotes isolation and dislocation as a result of being uprooted from one's communities and culture. Appadurai opined that instead of connecting local economies and communities, globalization breaks down and disassociates them (Appadurai, 2002). He argued current globalization process as manifested in economy, media and technology do not promote common imaginaries of global citizens, rather creates a sense of rootlessness and alienation among immigrants (Appadurai 1996). He further argued that different localities create different meanings and perceptions even to the same messages promoted by globalizing forces (Appadurai,

1996). The global migrants simulate their cultures and locations in global settings, disjointed from the space they are physically located in. This creates a form of deterritorialization that reshapes their lived experiences (Appadurai, 2002).

To capture the essence of such fluidity and subjectivity of deterritorialization, Appadurai (2002) proposed the concept of scapes that transcend the boundaries of nation states and attempt to capture how immigrants can keep connected to their own culture while living in different physical spaces and cultural meaning making systems. He proposed five interrelated scapes or dimensions of globalization that can be helpful to understand immigrants' lived experiences and their identities. The scapes are *ethnoscapes*: flows of people as immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, students, tourist, and so on; *technoscapes*: rapid movement of technology, both high and low as well as informational and mechanical, across boundaries that were previously impenetrable; *financescapes*: rapid movement of money across boundaries; *mediascapes*: flow of information, images through both traditional and social media including newspaper, magazine, television, internet, and so on; and *ideoscapes*: movement of ideas and ideologies. (Appadurai, 1990, pp. 6-10). These scapes challenge the singular harmonious bounded notion of culture and the idea of global cultural melting pot; rather calls for a newer and nuanced way of understanding one's position in the world.

Redefined Space and Existence

Finally, the conceptualization that can further the understanding of immigrants' lived experiences in a globalized world, is the idea of existential territory. As globalization is taking place at a rapid pace, migrants find themselves in a space that is

increasingly deterritorialized. Their subjective meaning making of their own lives and experiences have become central to their existence. Guattari (1995, 2000) put forward the concept of existential territory which highlights the deterritorialized and subjective experiences of immigrants. Central to his work is how our imagined territories mark our boundaries in an existential sense (Walkerdine, 2013). In Guattari's work, there is a sense of rejection between separating the human subjective experience from outside environment, inside from outside or static from fluid; rather he emphasized that the imagined landscape is as important as the material landscape of one's own location (Walkerdine, 2013, p. 757). Existential territory incorporates the idea of deterritorialization in a sense that it helps us see not simply the place where immigrants are or their place of birth or country of origin, but also where they psychologically or emotionally exist and belong to. In illustrating the concept of existential territory further, Walkerdine (2013, p. 757) mentioned, "we have to think of the way in which we inhabit a space and time, through our affective and sensory experience of it, the ways in which we are affectively held in place." The existential territory can be immigrants' living places, their home, their homeland, a physical space; but it can also be one's feeling and emotion about one's emotional existence and belongingness in the world. Whatever makes one feel alive, being connected to and brings a sense of new existence is one's existential territory. Existential territory is this experience of pacing, wandering and finding one's territory. The concept of existential territory addresses the ideas of agency, fluidity and desire that can be applied to immigrants as they attempt to survive anxieties, fear of alienation, create new connections, generate new meanings of their lives and experiences, and keep searching for belongingness as they create a home in a foreign land. This also

takes into account the complexities of the impact of globalization and the ways immigrants navigate through these complexities.

Immigrant Parents in an Era of Globalization

Parenting is typically defined as a practice that follows a given culture's norms, values, discourses and interactions related to child-rearing (Wise & da Silva, 2007). Parenting practice can differ from culture to culture. Identity, as a cultural construct, plays a crucial role in shaping parenting practices. Family has been seen as a primary context where children develop their identity (Phinney, 1996). Family members, in particular parents, serve as an important cultural agent in their children's lives. There is research evidence that suggest that parental influence on children is unique and that there was significant correlation between parents' and children's cultural values (Rohan & Zanna, 1996). Parents, as key family members and caregivers for children, are guided by their sense of identity in rearing their children (Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992). However, the discussion in previous section highlights the complexity, nuances and the diverse ways globalization and its effect on human lives are understood. A large part of the discussion in the previous section places globalization as rapid, disjunctive, fluid, deterritorialized, transnational, and hybrid. It is not a phenomenon that merely promotes the idea of cultural melting pot or fixed and stable notion of identity and culture. When it comes to the effect of globalization on immigrant parents, it is evident that parents and families are required to negotiate a range of local and global cultural forces (Robertson, 1995). Parents, particularly who are from non-western backgrounds and have settled in western countries, must negotiate the issues of cultural practices that are different than

their own. They also have to navigate many potential stressors including racial prejudice, discrimination and stereotyping (Li, 2001). Parents also must face challenges on how to deal with the changes in terms of balancing the differential meanings of caring and nurturing and acculturating their children. Innovation of new media and technology is also altering the interactions within the family (McDade & Wortham, 2004). At the same time, it also allows immigrant parents to maintain ties and contacts with their homeland and its culture in an unprecedented scale due to advancement in information and communication technology. Thus, globalization provides a complex landscape for immigrant parents to navigate through.

However, the discussion of cultural impacts of globalization on families and parents are very limited (Carrington, 2008). In particular, research on immigrant parents' identity and culture in relation to their parenting is scarce. In majority of the cases, available research generally focuses more on support needs and challenges of immigrant parents for child-rearing. Issues of identity and cultural difference in parenting generally get less attention. They are usually discussed as part of generic support needs and challenges in literature than receiving a fuller or more comprehensive attention. Limited available research suggests that there are two major discourses that define the current understanding of immigrant parents' culture and identity negotiations in a foreign land. One discourse emphasizes the idea of cultural continuity and preservation where parents' responses to unique cultural negotiation challenges posed by globalization are often marked by tending to preserve their traditional cultural practices (Stromquist & Monkman, 2000). The other discourse highlight that parents are increasingly resorting to hybrid identities in their parenting practices where they constantly interact in a

multicultural context to create new forms of identities and existences for them (Tam, Lee, Kim, Li, & Chao, 2012; Sanagavarapu, 2010). These two discourses are briefly discussed in the following sub-sections.

Maintaining Cultural Continuity in a Globalized Transnational World

Due to increased globalization immigrant parents now live a transnational life more than ever before. Levitt and Glick-Schiller (2004) noted that while migrants are living in the host country, they are also able to live their life transnationally, i.e., keep connected to their own country and people and seek inspiration and cultural knowledge from there to decide how they would lead their lives in the host country. Some scholars stress that migrant parents play a significant role to ensure their own culture can be reproduced and presented as an ideal to their children (Espiritu 2003; Falicov 2005; Kuczynski, Marshall, & Schell, 1997). Parents' homeland and culture serves as an important referral point for parents while they live their own life in an immigration destination and teach their children about culture and what is expected and what not (Wolf, 1997) is. This referral is not only geographical but also provides ideological and emotional guidance on how their family should lead their lives (Wolf, 1997). Espiritu (2003) noted that immigrant parents often present themselves as ideal embodiment of cultural authenticity and takes a great deal of effort to ensure they represent the homeland and its memory to their children in a foreign land.

Parents often exercise cultural continuity in the family by promoting ethnic and racial pride through cultural socialization (Hughes et al., 2006). Parents themselves practice their culture and teach their children about their history, racial and cultural

heritage. Parents engage themselves in a process of cultural socialization through promoting the ethnic and racial pride in their children by presenting the important historical and cultural figures, teaching them about culture through books, artifacts, music, and stories from their own culture, celebrating important cultural days, holidays and festival that mark and shape the identity of their own culture, preparing and eating ethnic foods and promoting the use of their own language at home (Hughes et al., 2006). Similar findings were noted in several other family research on immigrants where cultural pride and continuation was promoted by parents through regular daily family routine, food, language and celebration of cultural celebrations (Pessar, 1995; Sua´rez-Orozco & Sua´rez-Orozco, 2001; Zimmerman, Ramirez-Valles, Washienko, Walter, & Dyer, 1996). To provide a visual model for their cultural pride and heritage, parents also keep ties with and brings their children to their community developed based on their national and cultural identity. For example, Yearwood’s (2001) study illustrated on how church-based community network helps Jamaican family to navigate their parenting practice and maintain their own culture while the live in the USA.

Parents often use identity and character formation discourses to ensure children adhere to their cultural and religious norms and values. They largely use values and cultural norms from their own culture as they set parenting goals for their children. For example, Deepak (2005) discussed the challenges South Asian parents face in navigating their child-rearing practices when they immigrate to the USA. Deepak (2005) stated that in order to deal with the vastly different socio-cultural norms between South Asian and White American culture, South Asian parents often use ‘identity discourse’ as a strategy. Parents often portray South Asian norms and behaviors as ideal and desirable and

American behaviors as undesirable for their family. Parents use personal example, religious and cultural activities and teaching about cultural norms to ensure their children achieve the parenting goals. Deepak (2004) further noted that nationalist identity is also often presented by parents to guide their children's identity development. Parents portray South Asian families as strong, enduring, secure and without conflict, while American families are often portrayed as volatile, conflict-ridden and divorce-prone with less commitment to family and marriage. According to Deepak (2004) this depiction is further reinforced by parents' fear of very differential norm between American and south Asian culture on the issues of dating, marriage, sexuality, pregnancy, substance abuse, child abuse, divorce and so on. Similar to Deepak's findings, Maiter and George (2003) found that South Asia Muslim mothers in Canada practices their religious beliefs and values not only as part of their own identity maintenance, but also to create parenting goals for children. According to Maiter and George (2003, p. 420), Muslim mothers' parenting goals are inspired from their religious belief which include "respect for elders, modesty, humility, hard work, persistence, perseverance, and having a disciplined life" (Maiter & George, 2003, p. 420). Many Muslim parents regularly pray at home and encourage their children to pray with them. They also often take them to religious education classes in Mosques, participate in and celebrate religious and cultural festivals organized by mosques and the community (Ross-Sheriff, Tirmazi, & Walsh, 2007, p. 203). While they are open for their children to learn from and practice dominant white American or other minority culture in the U.S., they want to make sure these do not conflict with their core religious, cultural and family values. If such conflicts happen, mothers try to give their opinions and advices and be role models themselves to make sure their children adhere to

the family rules informed by their own religious and cultural practices (Al Jayyousi, 2014, Maiter & George, 2003).

Recent development in communication technology and transportation has made it easier for parents to keep connected with their relatives and friends back in their home country (Carrington, 2002). Immigrant parents often have different language and values than those of mainstream dominant culture and they face enormous challenges when they engage in child rearing and socialization of their children (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). They encourage their children to regularly talk to their grandparents and other relatives in their home country (Purkayastha 2005). Parents also try to visit their homelands with their children to keep their family connected to their culture and their origin (Reynolds & Zontini, 2006; Sun, 2013). Moreover, research suggest that Asian immigrant parents also bring in their own parents maintain the cultural continuity. For example, Xie and Xia (2011) and Da (2003) studied Chinese families in the USA and Australia respectively and explained how working immigrant parents bring in their own parents from their home countries in order to help them manage family life, household chores, establish and visualize kinship ties, teach children filial piety or respect for elders in the family, teach their mother tongue and serve as agents for cultural continuity. Similar findings were noted by Lie (2010) who studied Bangladeshi and Chinese grandparents in the UK. Maintaining cultural continuity and providing support for the family were key goals for both Bangladeshi and Chinese parents to bring grandparents from their home countries to live with them in the UK.

Besides parents' desire to keep anchored to their own ancestral home and culture, such expectations can also be further motivated by the sense of fear and isolation,

downward social mobility in the host country, pressure from fellow social and community networks and struggle to be engaged to the host country. For example, Muslim parents' perceived need to continue their own cultural practices partly stemmed from the feeling of being isolated and alienated from the mainstream U.S. society. Since 9/11, Muslim immigrants have been subjected to stereotyping, hate crime and prejudice. There are incidents of attacks, harassments and humiliations of Muslim immigrants (Bakalian & Bozorgmehr, 2009). As a result of growing disbelief and hate, Muslim families are constantly in fear and find it difficult to attach with the mainstream U.S. society. Muslim parents became very worried about raising their children in such a growing anti-Muslim environment. As a result, some parents withdrew from outside social world, and kept themselves largely within their own trusted social and religious ties (Ross-Sheriff, Tirmazi, & Walsh, 2007). However, research also suggest that while the Anti-Islamic sentiment motivated some immigrant Muslim parents to maintain cultural continuity and separate from the mainstream society, other parents tried to hide their identities and impose self-censorships. Muslim mothers often refrained themselves and their daughters from wearing hijabs while they go outside, limited their visit to mosque, or discuss about religious matters in public (Ross-Sheriff, Tirmazi, & Walsh, 2007).

Beside religious discriminations, some immigrants also suffered downward social and class mobility which led them to feel alienation and frustration. Keeping in touch with their homeland provided a sense of refuge and restoration of honor and dignity. For example, Kibria (2011) noted that many immigrant Bangladeshis in the U.S., who had a respectable social and economic status in Bangladesh, have suffered downward mobility

in terms of their class status and profession. To cope with this, they kept close ties with their homeland, where being a U.S. immigrant provides respect and status. This sense of achievement through keeping ties to ancestral land also led them to keep continuing on their cultural norms and values. Besides, Adair & Tobin (2008) contended that immigrant parents often face tremendous pressure from their social networks particularly their immediate and extended family members to uphold the values and norms of their own culture. Being open to changes and hybrid existence often subject them to criticism from their close networks. Moreover, there are also other barriers and stressors that prevent parents from being meaningfully engaged to their host nation. For example, Qin and Han (2014) studied how Chinese working-class parents faced difficulty in getting involved in their children's education as they were facing time constraints, language barriers and lack of knowledge of content and school culture in the USA which led them to be withdrawn from their children's education. Their study provided a contrasting view of the prevailing dominant perception depicting Chinese parents' high level of educational involvement as related to their children's exceptional academic performances.

Parenting as Transnational and Hybrid

As much as immigrant parents like to maintain cultural continuity as the previous discussions suggest, parents are not static, rather open to changes and adjust their identities and parenting practices as needed. The immigrant ethnic minority parents often have different language and values than those of mainstream dominant culture and they face enormous challenges when they engage in child rearing and socialization of their children (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). To cope with these challenges, they act

with intention in mind to adjust to the diverse and changing parenting needs in a foreign land. Exposing to diverse culture is increasingly leading families to adapt to a hybridized form of existence (Jones Diaz, 2016; Kuran & Sandholm, 2008; Sanagavarapu, 2010; Singh, 2005). Recent studies suggest that parents act as cultural middlemen as they realize that with the rapid change in society people often have to deal with multiple cultural contexts (Tam & Chan, 2015). Parents not only want to transmit to their children their own values, they also focus on what is normatively accepted and endorsed in a changing society (Tam et al., 2012). Tam and Chan (2015) found that while parents strongly identified themselves with their own ethnic origin and its value systems, they also frequently referred to the host nation's norms and values. The primary reason behind it was the thinking that their children would reside in the host society in future and therefore it is beneficial to embrace aspects of this culture as well. However, according to Tam and Chan (2015) instead of giving up one entirely or embracing the other fully, parents developed a more bicultural or multicultural socialization practice. As they engaged in parenting, they not only referred to the values that they personally endorse, they also emphasized on the values that the society they live in perceives as normatively important (Tam et al., 2012). So, they remained open to possibilities of integrating these different value systems and act as a middleman in transmitting these values to children. This is particularly relevant in this increasingly globalized world, where people are crossing the borders and settling in countries which have different cultural values than their own (Tam et al., 2012). At one hand they have to act as a cultural agent to maintain their heritage society; on the other hand, they also need to engage themselves and their children to adapt to the dominant mainstream society. Thus, parenting and socialization

in a globalized immigration context often leads to parents to negotiate their way through a reality of cultural hybridization rather than to merely cultural continuity or cultural homogenization (Tam et al., 2012).

There are different contexts where parents exhibit the flexibility and fluidity in their culture and identity. One important context is the definition of family and family relation. Research suggests that some parents may be open to embracing some aspects of their host culture, but with some intentionality and choice. They may decide which aspect of the new culture to accept and where to keep loyal to their own culture. For example, Naidoo and Davis (1988) found that many South Asian mothers promote the U.S. values of education and work, while try to practice their own values and norms on issues related to marriage, gender role and religion. Deepak (2005) found that South Asian mothers often employed clearly stated role definition of family members, but in terms of decision making embraced democratic values promoted in American families. However, parents' negotiation and navigation did not always reflect the linear process of accepting of South Asian norms and rejecting of American norms altogether or maintaining different identities for different contexts. While these examples point to a more bicultural development, other research lean toward more fluid and hybrid cultural existence. For example, Jambunathan and Counselman (2002) noted that immigrant parents use family extendedness and role flexibility to cope with the difficult journey to cope in a foreign land. By extending the family they redefine the definition of traditional family to increase their support system network so that they can maximize the benefits of parenting. By role flexibility parents adjust the traditional roles and responsibility assignments in the family to an extent that their identity and positionality in the family becomes flexible and

interchanging to respond to the new and changing parenting realities. Jambunathan and Counselman (2002) further found that Indian immigrant mothers in the USA changed their children discipline style by integrating both their own culture and the norms of child disciplining in the U.S. Maiter and George (2003) found that while Muslim mothers liked to continue their religious practices, they also gave freedom to their children and adjusted their own role so that their children did not feel isolated. In doing so, they changed their own role as providing direct instruction to acting more as an advisor and friend as they engaged with their children in discussion related to religion.

Immigrant parents also redefine their gender roles to create a newer form of gender identity that is compatible to the changing needs of the society. For example, Russo, Lewis, Joyce, Crockett, and Luchters (2015) studied how Afghan immigrant mothers in Australia navigated different social, cultural, religious and gender norms in the contexts of family, community and formal maternity care services and resorted to strategies such as reaching out to Afghan communities, people from other culture who knows English and ritual prayers. They also redefined gender relation; particularly their husbands often provided emotional support which is traditionally given by women family and community members in Afghan society. Husbands also engaged more in household chores in order to cope with separation they experienced in household support in Australia. Deepak (2005) found that instead of making clear dichotomies such as ‘traditional motherhood’ and ‘modern daughterhood’, some South Asian mothers developed a more complex relation with their daughters as they engaged in parenting with their daughters. They discussed possibilities such as late dating, dating for the purpose of marriage and so on which indicate a move towards maintaining a hybrid

identity on specific issues. Parents also advised children on how to maintain South Asian identities within the South Asian community in the USA while allowing them more freedom when their daughters mingled with mainstream culture. Thus, identity of immigrant parents takes a multiple and changing form as they navigate through differential cultural norms and values. Similarly, Izuhara and Shibata (2002) found that women's role within the family changes as they migrate to western countries to an extent that it alters their family relationship and parenting practices.

Immigrant parents from collectivist societies have redefined the traditional definition of individualistic and collectivist roles in order to create a new form of existence and cope in a foreign land. For example, Tamis Le-Monda et al. (2008) contended that immigrant parents break the traditional binary value system between individualism and collectivism and autonomy and relatedness. They find ways of dynamic coexistence of these two spectrums as they engage in parenting. Parents use several goals that require strategies such as additive, conflicting and functionally dependent as they navigate the independent-dependent spectrum value systems of parenting. The strategies they followed were not static, rather changed from situation to situation. Immigrant parents interviewed in their research spoke equivocally in favor of dynamic interplay and necessary adjustment between individualistic and collective value system for successful engagement in parenting in their host countries.

The idea of selectivity and fluidity can be observed in immigrant families' language teaching practices as well. Adair and Tobin (2008) found that Spanish speaking Mexican immigrants in the USA adjusted their expectation for their children to learn and use Spanish in daily lives. They emphasized their children should learn and use English

in daily lives for outside interactions, whereas they should use Spanish at home environments. They made adjustments to the expectations that their children may not develop writing or reading skills in Spanish but being proficient in English along with speaking and understanding Spanish would suffice. Thus, they redefined their families' language identities based on the new realities in an immigration context. Jones Diaz (2016) also provided example how Latin American immigrants in Australia developed a hybridized cultural identity mediated by race, class and gender as they tried to develop bilingual environments for their children.

Existing research conducted in immigrant families instructional and educational settings also support the idea of selectivity, fluidity and hybridity of immigrant parents. For example, Wu (2011) studied how Chinese immigrant mothers in New Zealand interacted with the educational space of their children and maintained the relation between home and education as they navigated different cultural norms and practices associated with children's learning between China and New Zealand. She found that Chinese parents in New Zealand not only brought the grandparents to help raise their children and maintain cultural continuity, they also send their children to early learning centers so that children can socialize and learn both New Zealand and Chinese culture. Her study further revealed that while mothers were not fully happy with the learning philosophy and the activities of leaning center, they accepted it as standard norms of New Zealand culture. At home, they employed a range of strategies such as bridging, developing Chinese language speaking and listening skills in order to create a balance between home and school practices. Overall Wu's (2011) research indicated that as mothers engaged in their children's early childhood education, they exhibited a complex

attitude towards the mainstream New Zealand society where they intentionally embraced some aspects of it, while accepted other aspects in reluctance. They were also selective on what to embrace and what not to accept. Occasionally they also rejected some aspects of their children's early educational practices in the learning centers. These show a complex and dynamic relationship between mothers and the spaces they interacted with in relation to their children's education. In another research, Guo (2006) found that Chinese immigrant mothers in the USA integrated their Chinese direct instructional practices with Western autonomous learning styles to come up with a form of guided instructions as they engaged in their children's education.

These are some examples of available research on immigrant parents' child-rearing practices that shows the dynamic and fluid nature of negotiating parenting in an immigration context. Implicit though, there is also a sense that immigrant parents make informed and intentional choices within their scope as they engage in parenting. However, the idea of parents' agency, choice and intentionality is rarely explicitly stated in the literature. Instead of strictly sticking to their own culture or fully following the host culture, immigrant parents navigate these fields in a manner that is open to possibilities of redefining cultural boundaries and reshaping their identities as more flexible than fixed. However, these researches often lack a specific focus on globalization and do not pay much attention to understand how the processes of globalization such as scapes and existential territories can shape immigrant parents' experiences. Anchoring the discussion around the transnational spaces and scapes can help understand how parenting as cultural project takes place in a globalized immigration context and how different transnational spaces and scapes such as ethno, techno, ideo and media transcends geographical

boundaries and constantly shape and reshapes these fields and the way parents engage in child-rearing in these field.

Parenting and Identity among Bangladeshi Immigrant Parents

There is a dearth of research on Bangladeshi immigrant parents and their parenting experiences. The limited research available on Bangladeshi immigrant parents and families mostly took place in the large city contexts of the U.S. and the U.K. and studied largely families that have adolescents and young adults. The topics of study included marriage, intersection between Bengali and Muslim identities and intergenerational relation. While these researches did not explicitly study parents' identity, but the findings in relation to the different topics studied in these researches provide some ideas about parents' identity negotiating as they engage in parenting. This section provides an overview of Bangladeshi immigrant parents' experiences of parenting and identity negotiations based on this limited research. In summary, the existing research suggest while Bangladeshi immigrant parents navigated the different cultural landscapes, they were keen on not merely assimilating into the mainstream society; rather they resorted to their Bengali and Muslim identities for rearing their children in foreign lands. Their identities in these researches are largely viewed as fixed and static where cultural continuity was portrayed as their key goal of parenting.

Cultural Continuity through Bengali and Islamic Identities as Guiding Themes

The existing research on Bangladeshi immigrant families suggest that Bangladeshi parents are largely guided by Bengali and Islamic values and identities.

They try to strongly uphold their identities as Bengali and Muslims use these identities to guide their children in foreign lands. Bose (2014) studied child-rearing ethno-theories or meaning making system of parenthood among Bangladeshi parents in the United Kingdom. Her study revealed several major themes which highlighted how parents meaningfully engaged in maintaining cultural continuity and evolving new solutions in a changing social and cultural context. The common guiding principles for these themes were obtained from Islamic and Bengali value system, which show parents' unwillingness to simply assimilate to western culture. First theme included the major goal of parenting which was largely inspired by the belief that children are the gift of Allah and the parents' role was to guide them in learning to differentiate between right and wrong based on that encompassing belief. Right path was elaborated by the parents as growing up in a loving family, study hard, find a decent job, marry and settle down, showing obedience and respect to elders and relatives, sharing and learning about Islam. Second theme discussed the organizing values that helped parents navigate their child-rearing role. One such value was respect for elders, which is a common value emphasized by both Islam and Bengali culture. Respect and obedience for elders was seen as important for maintaining moral and social order. Another important organizing value for Bangladeshi immigrant parents noted by Bose (2014) was relating to others particularly to relatives. By relating to other, parents meant that their children should not grow as too self-assertive, rather should learn their place in the family and kinship network, understand and respect these relations, and learn how to speak and behave with the relatives. Final organizing value was belonging to 'shomaj' or moral community. In Bangladesh families are not isolated units; rather they are embedded in a complex

interrelated network of community which largely determines worth and well-being of the family. Parents wanted their children to obey their community norms, and not by English or Christian norms which sometimes created tensions between parents and children. Acceptance of family and their honor are largely determined by how well they could follow the norms of community. However, Bose's (2014) research briefly touched upon the openness of some Bangladeshi parents to find some middle grounds. Bose (2014) noted that parents recognized Bengalis in London have a different culture outside of home. While some of the parents resorted to tighten parental control to maintain the boundary by using binary rhetoric such as family/non-family, shomaj/non-shomaj (community/non-community), many acknowledged that it is not easy for the children and can only increase confusion and complexity. They tried to sympathize with children and understand their need. So, they seek to find a middle ground and kept explaining them. They resorted to develop a less hierarchical relation and find a middle ground by reminding their children of their moral values and at the same time allowing more freedom.

Struggle between Continuity and Change: Navigating Intergenerational Relation

The existing research on inter-generational relations of Bangladeshi immigrant families portrays a binary tensed picture between parent and children relations. At one hand, parents are seen as keepers of Bangladeshi culture in the foreign land, while their children were ready to move on and assimilate with the dominant culture. Alam (2013) studied how intergenerational relation played out between U.S.-born or U.S.-migrant adolescents who migrated to the U.S. before the age of 10 and their Bangladeshi parents

in New York city. His findings suggested that the parents' and their children's narratives represented a crossroad of acculturation where parents largely framed their narratives and identities based on the retention of their native culture while their children started to develop their identity through interacting with their friends and classmates in multi-ethnic heterogeneous schools that they studied in. While parents often preferred to remain and find comfort within their identity enclave defined by Bangladeshi national origin, the adolescent sought to cope and embrace changes through finding compatible and exploratory post-immigrant identities and often resorted to self-othering from their homogenous ethnic enclaves. This has often led to a growing acculturation gap between the two generations. Parents often tried to negotiate this gap by allowing children to acculturate with the mainstream or multiethnic context as long as the children did not entirely give up the native culture. However, parents themselves did not change their identities; rather remained loyal to their Bangladeshi identities and values that guided their life. Similar findings were noted in Begum and Khondaker's (2008) study. They studied Bangladeshi parents and children in New York city and found that there existed differential view between parents and children. Parents were in fear of their children becoming 'Americanized' and were not happy with some features of U.S. culture including dating and dressing. Parents were restrictive of letting their adolescent children date. They were also not keen on permitting their adolescent girls to dress up the way white American girls do. Sometimes, parents resorted to strict disciplinary measures that were perceived inappropriate in U.S. culture and legal system. While parents did not necessarily consider these disciplinary behaviors as abusive, rather acceptable and necessary to maintain obedience and respect for elders based on their collectivist norms,

their children's perception on this matter was different. Bangladeshi children in U.S. schools are taught to report if they face any sort of abusive behavior including physical punishment or screaming and shouting from parents or anyone else, whereas parents believed this legal arrangement and cultural norms are catering distrust and disrespect among Bangladeshi children to their parents and elders. Clearly, some parents did not perceive the American way of parenting as appropriate for them. These created an identity crisis within the family where parents felt helpless as they were struggling to maintain their identity as parents. Their identities as exhibited through authority and respect were at a stake because their children were taught in schools and larger society to focus more on their own individual choice and freedom. Moreover, it was not a struggle to maintain parents' own identity only, their children's identity was also changing as parents felt they could no longer teach them to maintain their Bengali collectivist values.

Mediating Children's Major Life Decisions for Cultural Continuity

Parents' desire to maintain cultural continuity and their families' identity as Bengali can be observed in their efforts to be involved in children's major life decisions. For example, Kibria (2009) studied how Bangladeshi American parents navigate the important life decisions for their children such as marriage. In Bangladesh arranged marriages are typical where parents or elder of the family select life partners for their children. Through interviews with Bangladeshi-American immigrant parents, Kibria (2009) found that parents typically preferred to take a mediator role for a semi-arranged marriage and preferred to have a Bangladeshi life partner for their children. In particular, they were keen on introducing their sons and daughters with potential candidates who

were raised in a good family in Bangladesh. The definition of ‘good family’ was framed by the parents based on their reputation, religiosity, education and honesty. They often stressed that a boy or a girl from a good family would possess a good name for him/her in Bangladesh, has good educational background, who is devout Muslim, is honest and smart, can speak English well and adjust in America well. Parents mentioned that having a boy or a girl from Bangladesh would ensure cultural continuity as s/he will help practice Bengali tradition and culture within the family. As a strategy, parents often used to take their children to Bangladesh, if possible for longer trips, so that they could get introduced to Bangladeshi culture and start appreciating it. They also used to introduce their children to other eligible candidates from their known circle in the hope that that children would be able to find potential life partners from Bangladesh. However, Kibria (2013) found that teenage and young children often considered their parents’ notion of ‘good family’ as problematic and irrelevant to their life which resulted in tension between them and their parents. While they generally appreciated their parents’ desire to marry their children to someone who share similar religious and cultural background, Kibria (2013) found that many of the youths she interviewed tied themselves more closely with their ‘Muslim’ identity rather than ‘Bengali’ identity and they were comfortable to marry anyone as long s/he is a Muslim. Being Bengali was not necessarily a key consideration for the children. While parents preferred someone Bengali Muslim and did not differentiate between Bengali and Muslim identities, the children were fine if their spouses were Muslims only. Therefore, the trips made to Bangladesh, although were pleasant to the children as they could meet their cousins and extended families and could blend in with respect to skin color, were not as cheerful and enjoyable to them as they

were to their parents. They found somewhat difficult to adjust and feel connected with their ancestral home the same way as their parents did. Kibria (2009) found that the children found their ties more closely to the larger Muslim communities in the U.S. as opposed to being solely confined to Bengali community, which Kibria largely attributed to the crisis and urge of finding their place and identity in American society as a consequence of growing anti-Muslim sentiment in the post 9/11 era.

Cultural Continuity and Gendered Parenthood

In Bangladesh there is distinction between how girl children and boy children are raised. Identity as a parent of boy also differs from identity as parent of girl where girls' parents have more at a stake. Parents of girls are typically at a more risk of losing their face and honor of their daughters do something that does not fit with the social norms and expectations. Research found that this differential child-rearing based on children's gender identity can be observed among immigrant Bangladeshi parents in the U.S as well. Alam (2013) observed a gendered socialization as a contested space between parents and the adolescents. Bangladeshi mothers were keen on instilling patriarchal norms among their daughters in order to ensure intergenerational cultural continuity. In doing so, they provided more parental supervision for their daughters while allowed more freedom to boys. Meanwhile, the girls through their socialization in school could experience more freedom and personal choices. This often encouraged them to resist their parents' gendered norms around career choice, arranged marriage and so on. Adolescent girls often used it as a site for resistance which created tension between parents and daughters. Similar finding was noted in Barn's (2002) study on Bangladeshi immigrant

mothers in London. While parents wanted to maintain a social and religious boundary, young girls wanted more freedom in wearing western dresses and socializing with friends outside of home. Barn's study revealed that while parents tried to maintain a balance by accepting some of the aspects of their children's need of freedom such as study and socialization; but one specific issues such as dress codes of girls were always a matter of tension. Similarly, Bose (2014) noticed that parents in the U.K. were very protective of their adolescent girls' honor and stressed that they should maintain their 'sharam' or 'lajja' which means 'modesty' or 'honor'. To protect their daughters' honor parents usually resorted to various strategies including teaching and reminding them constantly about their honor, exerting parental control by not letting them go out of home much at night, and discouraging them mixing with boys. Parents even resorted to early arranged marriage if they feared their daughter was not learning to respect her 'sharam'. Loosing sharam would mean losing face and identity for both the daughter and the parents in the community. Bose (2014) noted that this stress on 'sharam' highlighted a significant difference in child-rearing norms between western and Bengali values as western notion of adolescence emphasize that adolescents are naturally curious to contact with peers and are aware of their sexuality. While western notion highlighted that adolescence is a period when children should have freedom to explore their world and find their place outside of family, Bengali notion stressed that their act can never be separated from their family. However, Bose (2014) observed that parents negotiated between these two worlds by letting their daughters go outside of home frequently when they were convinced that their daughter is aware of her sharam and can take care of it. For boys, parents did not resist them from going out as they believed boys have to go out for work and living, but

stressed that they should maintain their ‘izzat’ or honor by not getting involved into any antisocial activity or resorting to drug.

Navigating Children’s Educational Space

Available research suggests that Bangladeshi parents have issues and concerns with the cultural difference children encounter between their school and home. For example, Rahman (2014) conducted a study on strength, cultural differences and coping strategies among Bangladeshi immigrant parents in the U.S. A section of her study was dedicated to understanding parenting and family relation among Bangladeshi families. While the mothers generally noted supportive family and neighboring environment for rearing their children, their major concern was the schooling. They found there is a significant difference between the U.S. way and Bangladeshi ways of parenting which is manifested in schooling practices. Several mothers pointed at the issue of children’s demand for too much freedom and independence as a result of schooling which the collectivist and interdependent culture of Bangladesh does not allow. Besides, back in Bangladesh it is not decent to argue with parents, which mothers felt is lost somehow here in the U.S. Rahman (2014) also found that some of the academic arrangements and environment of U.S. schools were not appreciated by Bangladeshi mothers. For example, there are lots of school programs that take place at night. Mothers were not happy about it because it is not customary for them to let children, particularly girls, to go out at night. Besides, the meal arrangement in schools was also culturally insensitive according to mothers. Some mothers resented that schools serve foods that are not halal. Eating non-halal food goes against their Islamic guidelines and thus deemed inappropriate by

mothers. Several mothers also expressed their anxiety as they thought their children in high school may learn cultural practices and life style that might be contradictory to Bengali culture. Since mothers could not do much to influence the school practice they resorted to teaching their children at home the practices that is appropriate according to their culture. They also resorted to their neighborhood which was primarily comprised of Bengali families. They felt the homogeneous nature of the neighborhood allowed them to promote their children socialize with other Bengali families, practice Bengali culture and religious rituals and values, consult with religious leaders, and attend cultural events highlighting Bengali identity. Mothers also seek out suggestions to other mothers or parents in the neighborhood or their friends and relative circle on issues around child-rearing.

This section presented how cultural differences influence immigrant Bangladeshi parents' child-rearing. It made specific reference to how parents' sense of identity and culture acted as a source of resistance to assimilate to dominant host culture; rather motivated parents to maintain cultural continuity and national identity in foreign lands. However, the findings here largely portrayed Bangladeshi parents with a singular, binary notion of identity which is fixed and at struggle with U.S. culture and identity although there were some evidences of negotiation, fluidity and openness to changes as they engaged with their children. The bottom line was children's desire to change should still fall within the broader expectation of parents' guiding values relating to their religion and culture. It is to be noted that the research discussed here mostly studied Bangladeshi immigrant parents in large U.K. and U.S. cities where there is a significant presence of Bangladeshis who live in predominantly Bangladeshi neighborhoods. It was important to

learn how Bangladeshi parents who are not located within such ethnic enclaves navigate their parenting. Besides, the studies cited in this section did not focus primarily on child-rearing rather investigated it as part of larger family or intergenerational research. They also lacked a conceptual framework that specifically highlighted identity and cultural difference in child-rearing in an era of globalization.

Analytical Framework

As discussed in the earlier sections, parents' identity and culture negotiations are largely framed within cultural continuity and hybridity discourses. In particular, Bangladeshi parents' child-rearing was primarily viewed through the lens of cultural continuity. The concepts of deterritorialization, existential territories, scapes, and cultural hybridity within the context of globalization served as analytical frameworks for this dissertation. I believe, these concepts provided more nuanced understanding of parenting in a globalized context. Since I have discussed them in earlier sections, I am not repeating the concepts; rather I briefly discuss how I have used them in my study. As an umbrella concept the idea of globalization as rapid, disjunctive, fluid and hybrid are used to guide the study. This has situated the study within a nuance, complex and multi-dimensional understanding rather than a singular, binary and polarized understanding of parenting practices. Besides, as I have discussed earlier that globalization has created unprecedented situation where people use different spaces and scapes to constantly negotiate and renegotiate their activities in an immigration context, the ideas of Appadurai's idea of scapes such as ethno, techno, finance, media and ideo is used to understand how different cultural norms and values around parenting are transmitted

through these spaces and affect parenting practices. The difference in ideoscapes can be understood by differences in political, social, religious, racial, ethnic, and gender beliefs which can ultimately influence parents' identity and their decisions regarding parenting. The rapid flow of ideas through spaces can define parent's identity and parenting practices in various transnational spaces which can ultimately create a new type of existential territory for parents in relation to their child-rearing. The idea of existential territory also puts parents' subjectivity at the central position of their identity and culture negotiation and stresses on their agency, intentionality and choice as they engage in parenting. The analytical framework for the study is presented in a graphic form in the next page.

Globalization: rapid, disjunctive, fluid, deterritorialized, transnational and hybrid

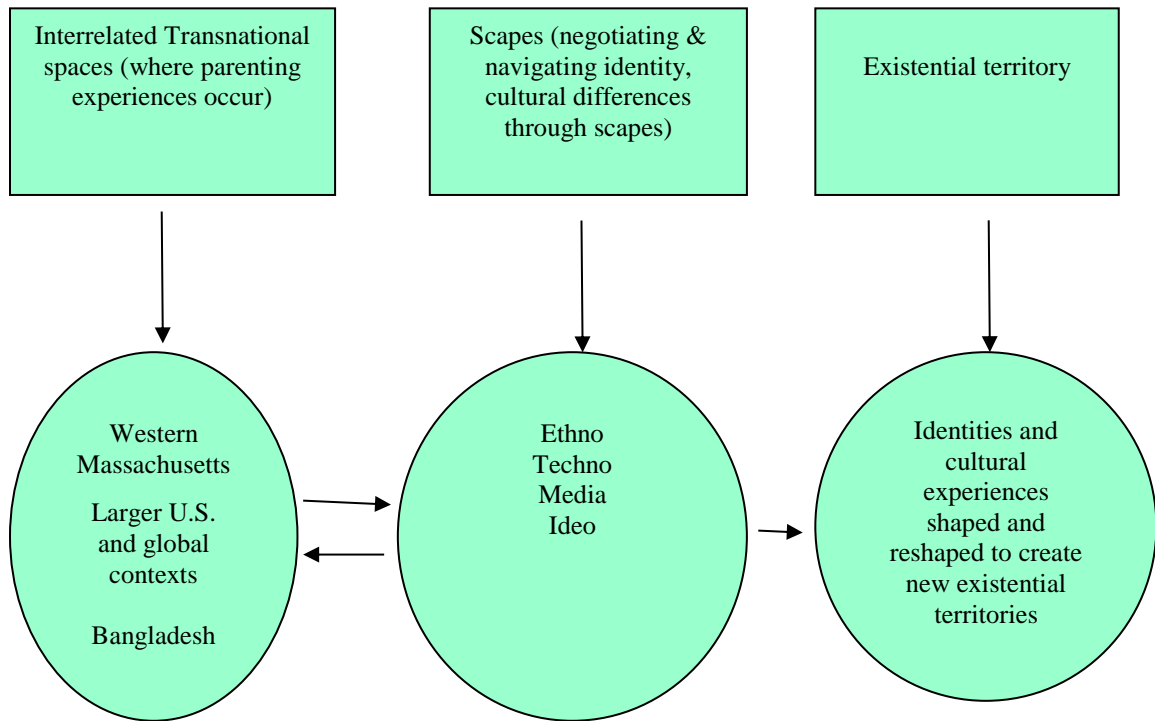


Figure 1: Analytical framework of the dissertation

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the methodology of the research which includes descriptions of the research approach, methods, participants and research tools. It also outlines data collection, management and analysis plan and translation and transcription process of data. The chapter further discusses researcher subjectivity and identity, ethical considerations, trustworthiness and credibility and delimitations of the study.

Research Approach

I used qualitative research approach for this study. Qualitative research is interpretive and grounded in the lived experiences of people (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Rossman and Rallis (2012) mentioned that qualitative research displays respect for the individual-in-context. It also looks at social worlds holistically, rather than as discrete variables that can be measured and manipulated statistically. Qualitative research looks at human interactions and “....seek depth rather than breath” and provide thick description (Rossman & Rallis, 2012, p.8). Since this dissertation studied Bangladeshi parents’ identities and sense of belongings as parents in a transnational context, it required a qualitative approach for capturing their experiences and emotions as they developed a self-representation based on their everyday real life. My theoretical frameworks also required studying immigrants’ identities and experiences from an experiential, transnational, fluid, dynamic perspective as opposed to a positivist or fixed point of view. This theoretical underpinning also needed a qualitative approach to capture the lived experiences of immigrant parents. In particular, I used an experiential paradigm in my

research. My study delved into learning about parents' subjective experience of child-rearing in an immigration context. This required learning about their stories of emigrating from Bangladesh, their experiences of child-rearing in a land of foreign culture, their negotiations and renegotiations of identity at home, school, community, larger society and so on as they engaged in parenting works. In-depth understanding was required to gain an insight into their parenting. Therefore, I engaged a small number of participants for my study and learned in depth from them through qualitative methods.

Selection of Research Participants

Bangladeshi parents living in the Western Massachusetts of the USA were primary research participants for my study. Initially 1 parent and 1 family member were interviewed for piloting of tools and research procedures. Findings from their interview were not included in the research. Afterwards, 13 parents from 8 families, 7 fathers and 6 mothers, were selected for the study. In addition, 2 family members, 4 children, and 2 Bangladeshi community members living in Western Massachusetts were also selected for the study.

Selection of parents

The parents were selected from my familiar circle, either through my direct contact or through someone I knew. They were selected using a non-probabilistic criteria-based sampling. Criteria sampling is defined by involvement of participants based on some pre-determined criteria of importance (Patton, 2002, p. 238). I created an initial list of potential parent participants who fit my criteria and invited them over face-to-face

conversation or phone conversation to take part in my research until I achieved the expected number of parents based on the established criteria for the study. The criteria that were used in selecting parents were:

1. Lives in Western Massachusetts
2. Born in Bangladesh and spent childhood in Bangladesh. This would mean parents are well acquainted with social and cultural norms of Bangladesh.
3. Permanently or temporarily immigrated to the USA during their adulthood.
4. Parents can be naturalized U.S. citizens, permanent residents, or living in the USA as non-resident alien for at least one year. This would mean that they are well acquainted with the social and cultural norms of the U.S.A.
5. Has child(ren) aging between 1 and 18 who are either US-born or naturalized US citizen or US resident, or at least living in the USA for a year.
6. Has reared their children in the USA for at least 1 year.

If parents had only one child and s/he is less than one year old, then these parents were not included because parents might need substantial amount of time to understand the nuances and complexities of their identity related to child-rearing. If parents had more than one child, at least one child had to be between 1 to 18 years old (i.e., not less than a year old) and living in the USA for a minimum of 1 year. If parents had child(ren) more than 1 year old, still they needed to rear their child(ren) for at least 1 year in the USA in order to be included in the study as participant so that they were better aware of child-rearing norms and issues of USA as an immigrant. The reason for selecting parents of a large age range of children (1 to 18) was to learn diverse issues and challenges that parents of different aged children faced. For example, the way parents of younger

children navigated their child-rearing might be much different than those who have adolescent children. Although, selecting parents of a specific age group of children such as adolescents would have yielded more in-depth information, the broad age range provided diverse data and allowed to develop an understanding of issues of parents across different age ranges. Besides, since there is no study on child-rearing of Bangladeshi immigrant parents in the USA, including a broad age range allowed to develop an initial understanding of parents having children of a diverse age range which may serve as a base for further specific age-group based research.

One feature of selecting primary research participant was not to exceed 25 participants. Leedy and Ormrod (2015) suggested that the total participant for an experiential study should be limited between 5 and 25 participants to allow for generating recurring theme but at the same time maintain space for individual stories and experiences. Excluding the initial pilot interview participants, the total number of my primary research participants was 13 and including children, family members and community members it was 21. So, it was limited within the suggested number range of experiential study.

Selection of Family Members

Initially an interview was taken for piloting purpose with a family member who fitted my research criteria, but her interview was not included in the findings. Afterwards, 2 more family members, 1 woman and 1 man, were selected for the study based on some criteria. Although my initial plan was to interview 4 adult family members, 2 women and 2 men, I was not able to find expected number who fit my criteria from the families of

parents I interviewed. Adult family members who are currently living in the USA or have previously lived in the USA with the participant Bangladeshi parents and provided child care supports to the parents were eligible to take part in the study. It is a common practice among Bangladeshi parents to fly in their own parents to provide support in their child-rearing permanently or temporarily. Therefore, they are a good source to provide with good insight into child-rearing. Both family members interviewed for this research was living permanently in the USA and were well-acquainted to US culture and child-rearing norms. They also provided substantial child-rearing support for the family. Thus, they were well fit to provide insight into the child-rearing practices in the family and critically reflect on cultural aspects of child-rearing.

Selection of Children

A total of 4 adolescent children aging between 11 to 15, 3 boys and 1 girl, were selected for the study. Although my plan was to interview 2 boys and 2 girls, I could not find 2 girls for interview. Number of girls within the age group was only 1. These children were selected because they can provide insightful information about their own experience of being reared as children. Adolescent children can help learn a lot about their home, school and out-of-home experience and supplement significantly to the insight parents can share with the researcher.

Selection of Community Members

Two community members who are living in the USA for at least 10 years were selected for the study. People of Bangladesh live in a closely tied community and senior

community members are seen as guardians or leaders of the community. From my experience I have learnt that Bangladeshis like to maintain a community tie in abroad as well. This is also confirmed by research I have discussed earlier in the literature review section. In the Bangladeshi community, elders or community leaders have a strong place and parents consult them for important family decisions including decisions regarding child-rearing. Therefore, I considered learning from elderly community members would provide important insight on child-rearing and identity among Bangladeshi parents.

Description of Research Participants

As mentioned earlier, the parents I interviewed came from 8 families in total, excluding the parent I interviewed for piloting purpose. The 8 families included both parent as well as single parent families. In creating a pool of parent participants, attention was paid to ensure that gender and age diversity of children can be maintained. If the selected parents had mostly boy children and very few girl children or the vice versa, the gender dynamics in child-rearing might have been missed. Similarly, if the selected parents had mostly adolescent children and very few young children or the vice versa, the dynamics of parenting for different age group children might have been missed. I tried to keep these issues in consideration while selecting the parents. However, due to relatively small Bangladesh parent population in Western Massachusetts, I had very limited flexibility and freedom in selecting parents maintaining all these criteria. Besides the 8 parent families and 4 children and 2 family members from these families, I also interviewed 2 community members who came from same family and married to each other. Although they were interviewed as community members, they also reared their 2

children in the USA. Their children are at their young adulthood and adulthood.

Therefore, the community members also provided important insight into their experience as community members as well as parents.

The table below provides a list of pseudonyms of fathers, mothers, children, family members and community members that I interviewed followed by a brief description of the participants. The family numbers in the table are used for coding purpose only, it does not signify anything else. This list does not include the parent and family member interviewed for piloting purpose. It is to be noted that the table only provides a list of participants who were interviewed; some families have other members who were not available for interview or did not fit the selection criteria and therefore was not included in the table.

Table 1: List of participants interviewed

Family	Mother	Father	Child	Family Member	Community Member
Family 1	Zarifa	Mustafiz	Farhan		
Family 2		Towhid	Laila		
Family 3	Yasmin	Reza	Mishal		
Family 4	Ishrat	--	Tahsan		
Family 5		Sabbir		Hasib	
Family 6	Pushpita	Rahat		Nandini Nargis	
Family 7	Lopa	Avijit			
Family 8	Dilruba	Omar			
					Partho and Shuchorita

Families

Altogether, these 8 families are comprised of 8 mothers and 7 fathers although not all of them were available or eligible for participating in the study. The families have a total of 12 children, 6 girls and 6 boys. Their age ranged from 18 months to 15 years at the time of interview. In terms of age group, 5 were adolescents, 4 boys and 1 girl, studying between 5th grade and 8th grade. Four of them were interviewed for this research. Among rest 7 children, 1 is 8 years old going in elementary school, 1 kindergartener, 3 pre-schoolers and 2 toddlers. Five out of 8 families have one child each. Two families have 2 children each and the rest has three children. One family was also expecting a child in two weeks' time during the interview as the mother was at her final stage of pregnancy. Out of the 12 children, 8 were born in the USA and 4 were born in Bangladesh who later immigrated to the U.S. with their parents. At the time of interview, there were 3 family members in total living with these families. Two of them were interviewed, while the other was travelling and not available for interview. A further brief description of mothers, fathers, children, family members and community members who participated in the research are given below.

Participant Mothers

Six mothers were interviewed for this study. The age of these 6 mothers at the time of interview ranged from 29 to 44 with an average of 33.5. They were born in different places of Bangladesh, but eventually all of them except one moved and settled in Dhaka, the capital city of Bangladesh, before coming to the USA. They immigrated to the USA between 2002 and 2015 when their age ranged from 19 to 38. The average age

at the time of immigration was 25. All of them except one came to the USA through sponsorship from family members, either through husband or sister. The rest came self-sponsored. Mothers' educational qualification ranged from undergraduate to graduate while one mother is currently pursuing her Ph.D. and other taking a medical training. Four out of six mothers were not employed in Bangladesh while the rest two were involved in research and teaching. At present, four mothers are engaged in different employments including professions such as business, teaching, retail store and health profession. The rest two are currently pursuing their further education.

Five of the mothers are currently married. Their marriage year ranged from 2000 and 2010. One mother is divorced. Their spouse's age ranged from 30 to 46 with an average of 39 and they were involved in business or other high skilled STEM or finance-related professions. All their living parents are residing in Bangladesh while few of them occasionally visit their daughters in the USA. Two of the mothers have their all siblings living in Bangladesh, rest four of them have at least one sibling living in the U.S and one of them have a sibling living in Massachusetts. Three of the mothers also have their husband's siblings living in the U.S. Two mothers have their close friends living in the U.S., while rest four do not have any close friends here.

Three mothers lived in Massachusetts only, while two stayed in Connecticut and Massachusetts and one stayed in 5 states in her life in the U.S. The mothers' stay in Western Massachusetts ranged from 1 year to 10 years at the time of interview with an average of 6 years. Mothers are mostly connected to other Bangladeshi families living in Western Massachusetts. Beyond this connection, few of them also have close ties to some Bangladeshi families living in New York or other U.S. states or some families from

Pakistan living in Western Massachusetts. One mother is also closely connected to few local Western Massachusetts families and families from South American countries. All the mother except one reported that they do not have any close ties to their neighbours which they miss very much. While not all the mothers were actively involved in some local or community organizations, typically they had connections with local mosque, church, library, family center and women's rights organizations. Those who are actively involved in a job reported good connection with their colleagues, mostly from U.S., and immigrants or descendants from other South Asian, Asian and Latin American nations.

Participant Fathers

Seven fathers were interviewed for this research. The age of these 7 fathers at the time of interview ranged from 31 to 46 with an average of 40. Like the mothers interviewed in this research, fathers were born in different places of Bangladesh, but eventually all of them moved and settled in Dhaka before coming to the USA. They immigrated to the USA between 1990 and 2015 when their age ranged from 18 to 40. The average age at the time of immigration was 27. Five fathers came to the U.S. either through diversity lottery or as students and later became permanent through job. Rest two came to the USA through family sponsorship from their wives. Fathers' educational qualification ranged from undergraduate to graduate while one father is currently pursuing his Ph.D while involved in a part-time job. Five out of seven fathers were not employed in Bangladesh while the other two were involved in Engineering-related government and private jobs. At present, all of them expect one are involved in different

employments including business and professions related to medicine, engineering, and finance.

All seven fathers are currently married. Their marriage year ranged from 2000 and 2011. Their spouse's age ranged from 29 to 44 with an average of 35 and they were involved in business or other high skilled science, technology or finance-related professions or pursuing further education. All of their alive parents are living in Bangladesh or India while few of them occasionally visit their sons in the U.S. Three of the fathers have their all siblings living in Bangladesh or other Asian countries, rest four of them have at least one sibling living in the USA. Three of the fathers also have their wife's siblings living in the U.S. Three fathers have their close friends living in the U.S., while rest four do not have any close friends here.

Three fathers lived in Massachusetts only, while two stayed in Connecticut and Massachusetts and the two stayed in 3 different states each. The fathers' stay in Western Massachusetts ranged from 1 year to 26 years at the time of interview with an average of 11 years. Like mothers, fathers are also mostly connected to other Bangladeshi families living in Western Massachusetts. Beyond this connection, few of them also have close ties to some Bangladeshi families living in New York or other U.S. states or some families from Pakistan and other Asian and African countries living in Western Massachusetts. Like mothers, all the fathers except one reported that they do not have any close ties to their neighbours which they miss very much. Their ties to community organizations was also similar to mothers, mostly local mosque, library and family center. Those who are actively involved in a job reported good connection with their

colleagues, mostly from U.S., and immigrants or descendants from other South Asian countries, particularly Pakistan.

Participating Family Members

Two persons from two families were interviewed for this research as family members. They are Hasib and Nandini Nargis. Hasib is Sabbir's father-in-law. He is 66 years old. He finished his higher education in Bangladesh and moved to a country in middle east where he worked as a manager of a multi-national company before permanently moving to the U.S. in 2004. Hasib and his spouse have their own home in Western Massachusetts which is close to Sabbir's home. They visit Sabbir's place on a regular basis and often stay there. Hasib and his spouse spend good amount of time with their granddaughter and provides care as necessary.

Nandini Nargis is 58 years old. She is Rahat's mother and Pushpita's mother-in-law. She has been living permanently in the USA since 2013 with Pushpita and Rahat. By career, she was a teacher of English Literature and Language in a school in Bangladesh. She is also a writer, and social and community worker both in Bangladesh and the USA. She has authored few literary books in the USA and regularly writes on newspapers in Bangladesh. She was in the USA when Rahat and Pushpita's children were born and she takes care of them on a regular basis.

Participating Children

Four adolescents, three boys and a girl, were interviewed for this research. Their age ranged from 11 to 15. Two of them were born in the USA and the rest two in Bangladesh

who immigrated to the U.S with their parents and later obtained citizenship. Their educational status at the time of interview ranged from 5th grade to 8th grade. All four of them have mostly White Americans friends and some friends from other nationalities including few South Asian nations, but no Bangladeshi-born friends in their schools. But they have some good Bangladeshi friends through their parents' social and community circle. Besides going to school, all of them are either receiving or have received at some point the mosque-based Islamic learning. Interview with them revealed that they like to attend Bangladeshi cultural programs like Eid and Bengali New Year and get together in their community. All of them have grandparents, cousins and some close relatives living in Bangladesh. They usually visit Bangladesh every or every other summer to meet their cousins and grandparents except one who has not visited Bangladesh after his early childhood. At other times, they are closely in touch with their relatives in Bangladesh through social media or internet.

Participating Community Members

I interviewed Partho and Shuchorita as community members. They are married to each other. The couple has been living in Western Massachusetts for 18 years at the time of interview. They were interviewed as Bangladeshi community members in Western Massachusetts. They are among the most senior Bangladeshis in Western Massachusetts. They are very involved in and take a lead role in organizing and hosting Bangladeshi cultural programs and get together. They also play important advisory roles for many Bangladeshi families on various family, education and career issues. Therefore, they have been interviewed as community members.

Partho and Shuchorita came to the U.S. in 1999 and permanently settled in Western Massachusetts. Partho is 62 years of age. He was born in a small rural town in Bangladesh. He finished his undergraduate and masters studies in Bangladesh and then earned Ph.D. abroad. He is currently working in a health-related profession in Western Massachusetts. Shuchorita is 52 years old. She was born in a rural town in Bangladesh. She holds an associate degree in business and completed pre-health course. She worked as a foreign language tutor and paraprofessional at Kindergarten and preschool levels in Western Massachusetts. At present she is working in health sector. Partho and Shuchorita have two sons. His elder son has completed his studies and is married while his younger son is studying medical sciences. They were raised in Western Massachusetts since their childhood. So, in addition to their perspectives as community members, Partho and Shuchorita has also substantial experience of parenting in Western Massachusetts.

Research Methods

For this research I engaged in in-depth semi-structured interview with my participants. I also engaged in genogram construction and conducted follow up interviews with parents. A brief description of the research methods is provided below.

In-depth Semi-structured Interview

Interviews are most commonly used method in qualitative research (Creswell, 2012). Qualitative interviews are “a construction site of knowledge” where two (or more) individuals discuss a “theme of mutual interest” (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 2). For this research I engaged in in-depth semi-structured interviews with my research

participants. Semi-structured interviews are considered as most appropriate method in experiential studies as they allow both researcher and participants to sit down with a clear plan and expectations in mind, but without exercising much control by researcher on participants (Bernard, 2006). While the researcher has an interview guide which includes the topics that s/he wants to discuss, semi-structured interviews also allow any new themes or ideas to emerge during the process of interview and thus research participant can be significantly contribute in conceptualizing the topic and have more egalitarian relationship with the researcher. For this research I prepared separate semi-structured interviews for parents, family members, children and community members.

The semi-structured interview for parents was the primary research method for the study. My research question required to learn about their day to day identity negotiations, their simultaneous navigations of transnational spaces including Western Massachusetts, larger U.S. contexts and Bangladesh, and their experiences in relation to parents' schooling. As I have discussed in the analytical framework section in previous chapter, I initially framed my understanding of migrant parenting experience as rapid, disjunctive, deterritorialized, and hybrid. My analytical framework further highlighted an interconnectedness between different transnational spaces (such as Western Massachusetts, the larger U.S. context and Bangladesh) and different scapes (such as ideo, ethno, techno, and media) to create a newer from of existential territory for parents. These understanding required to learn about participants' subjective experiences of their identity and culture negotiations in the day to day lives as they engaged in parenting. Besides, because of the complex nature of these nuanced experiences, I had to remain open for any new themes or ideas that my analytical framework or my research tools

might not have initially captured. For these reasons, semi-structured interview was most appropriate for my research. It allowed me to pursue a highly complex topic within the guideline of an informed analytical framework, but also provided the flexibility to learn any new potential ideas or themes to further enrich my understanding of the topic.

The interviews had three major phases. At the beginning, I engaged in informal conversation with my participants to set the tone of the interview and get acquainted with the setting. Then, I started with the questions in my interview guide. I was also keen on any new ideas, themes or questions that my participants wanted to bring in. Towards the end of the interview, I summarized the key topics discussed in the interview and asked the participants whether they agreed with the summary or had anything to add.

The interviews were taken one-to-one without anyone else's presence in order to ensure confidentiality. The interviews were face-to-face except one and taken in a place of participant's convenience, in most cases at participant's home and in some cases either in researcher's home or at office. One interview with a family member, who was interviewed for piloting purpose, was taken over telephone since she was in Bangladesh at the time of interview. In telephone interviews there is a risk of compromising anonymity and confidentiality. I have discussed the issue in the ethical consideration section on ways I addressed this issue. The interview with parents, excluding the one taken for piloting purpose, ranged from 57 minutes to 1 hour 47 minutes with an average of 1 hour 18 minutes. The average interview duration for family members, community members and children was 56 minutes, 1 hour 36 minutes and 24 minutes respectively. I audio-recorded the interviews with participants' permission except one parent and one child who preferred their interviews not to be audio-recorded. Out of 13 parent interviews

10 were in Bangla, the mother language of participants. 1 was in English and 2 were generally evenly mixed between Bangla and English. Among family members, 1 interview was in English and 1 was in Bangla. For community members, 1 interview was in Bangla and 1 was in English. Three children participated in the interview in English and 1 participated in Bangla.

Genogram

In this research, each parent was asked to draw a genogram prior to the in-depth interview. This was expected to serve as an ice breaker as well as a tool to introduce the concepts and topics to the research participants from where a better transition to the interview could be made (Mosselson, 2006). Genogram also helped provide a visual illustration of how parents relate to other entities such as other families, and communities. Genogram is a popular method in family research, particularly in family therapy. It was first used in 1960s and 1970 in family clinical practices by Bowen (Butler, 2008). Later on, McGoldrick and colleagues did extensive work to further develop it as an established method in family clinical research. McGoldrick, Gerson and Shellenberger (1999) defined genogram as a way to understand family issues and perspectives in a broader context. They considered families as existing in a wider interactional system which attempts to understand families from a systemic perspective where all the family members are considered to be involved with each other. According to them the basic assumption of genogram is that families or related systems adapt to its total context (McGoldrick et al., 1999, p. 7). Therefore, studying family in a larger context including ethnicity, religion, race, migration, class, and sexual orientation are

considered as relevant (Butler, 2008). Age, gender, recent family changes, life cycle transitions, cultural and ethnic backgrounds, individual functioning, family membership and interaction pattern are commonly studied through genogram. Genogram uses some standard symbols such as for marriage, divorce, birth, birth orders, death, sexual orientation, closeness and proximity of family relation and so on (McGoldrick et al., 1999). However, based on the need of specific research and preference of research participants unique symbols can be generated as well. For analyzing and interpreting data, McGoldrick et al. (1999) suggested several guidelines which included focusing on family structure and composition, ascertaining the particular place of the family in the life cycle, multigenerational patterns, and family roles and functioning.

In this study, parents were asked to provide information on their family members, how it is composed and how it is connected to their families back in Bangladesh. Beside this information, I remained open to any other information that parents wanted to provide in genogram. This information was expected to make a better transition to the interview and generate important topics and ideas that can further enrich the interview. The genogram construction took place face-to-face without presence of anyone else so that the confidentiality of the responses could be ensured. Since the genogram construction took place right before the in-depth semi-structured interview, the place of genogram and interview was the same. The genogram construction took between 15 and 30 minutes.

Follow up Interview

I conducted follow up interviews with parents after few months of conducting the in-depth semi-structured interviews with them. Follow-up interviews allowed me to go

back to my initial in-depth interview, read through the transcript thoroughly and ask further clarifying questions that I did not ask during the initial in-depth interview. It also helped me incorporate any new ideas or themes that were generated after the initial interview. An important aspect of the interview was follow-up questions. Follow-up questions help to take the interview to a deeper level (Rossman and Rallis, 2012) because they help in elaborating, clarifying, specifying, interpreting as well as provide reflective summary.

I was able to conduct 12 follow up interviews. I could not reach 1 parent for follow up interview. Seven interviews were face to face, taken at participant's home or researcher's office without anyone else's presence. Rest 5 were taken over telephone. The follow up interviews ranged from 18 minutes to 36 minutes with an average of 26 minutes. Eleven interviews were in Bangla and 1 was in English.

Data Collection

I received IRB approval for data collection in September 2016. I then created an initial list of potential participants and informed them about my research and received formal permission. The genogram construction and in-depth interviews with parents, family members, community members and children took place in November and December 2016. Prior to data collection, I tried out parent interview guide and genogram with 1 parent and 1 family member to check for the sufficiency of the initial themes, language, organization, time needed, dynamics related to setting and location and so on and made adjustments as needed. After each interview I wrote down initial themes and ideas as well as any comments or observations I had regarding the interview. Once the

interviews were over, I employed a transcriber to transcribe the interviews.

Transcriptions were done from first week of January 2017 to first week of February 2017.

Once the transcriptions were completed, I read them several times and identified any follow up questions I had and scheduled follow up interviews with parents accordingly.

Follow up interviews were taken in March 2017 and transcription of the follow up interviews was done in last week of March and first week of April 2017.

It is to be noted that during interviews, U.S. presidential election and campaign was taking place. The U.S. election took place in November 2016 and the data collection for this research was conducted during November-December 2016 and March 2017. So, the data collection time coincided with the peak of election campaign, election and Trump taking charge as the President of the USA. It was a stressful time for parents as there was continuous campaigning against Muslims and immigrants from Donald Trump. Parents were very afraid, confused and not sure what to expect should Trump is elected as President. They were are afraid of large policy changes against Muslims and immigrants. They were also very concerned what affect these campaigning might have in their neighborhood or locality although some of them were hopeful that they would not face adversity in Western Massachusetts. Some parents were also very concerned about continuous negative portrayal of Muslims and immigrants in some media and its effects on them and their children. These concerns are reflected in the interviews with the parents. Since my interviews took place in this critical juncture of U.S. history, this temporal context should be considered while interpreting my findings.

Data Management

It is imperative to maintain a high degree of management of data. In particular in-depth interviews required a good deal of systematic organization. I kept a log of all data including information on date, time, place, duration, pseudonym of participants and the type of data collection method. This log was kept in a word document in a tabular form. I also typed up my field notes as soon as I conducted the interviews while my memory of the interview was afresh so that I did not miss any crucial comment or theme or reflection.

Transcription and Translation

Since this research involved in-depth interviews, there was substantial amount of data to transcribe. In order to expedite the process of transcription and save time, I recruited a person, having an undergraduate and graduate degrees in education and a career of teaching to help in transcribing the interviews. While I transcribed few interviews, she transcribed most of them. She is based in Bangladesh and unfamiliar with my research participants. In addition to having educational and professional backgrounds in education and teaching, she has worked in various development organizations in Bangladesh on educational projects. She has been trained in educational research methods including qualitative research methods. She has also previously worked as transcriber for other research. I provided her with orientation on purpose, methods, ethical and transcription process of my research. Before she started transcribing interviews, she signed a confidentiality agreement confirming she would comply fully with the norms of confidentiality of the research. At the beginning she transcribed one

interview and then I reviewed it to check how it was going and if there was any issue arising during the transcription. Throughout the transcription process we were in touch to discuss any questions, issues or concern regarding the interview and worked out solution and next steps accordingly. After she transcribed the interviews, I cross-checked the audio files and transcript to ensure the written and audio version are consistent and matches well.

Another important aspect of my data collection was translation. I gave participants option to take part in interview in the language they felt more comfortable. Most of the parents, family members and community members participated in interview in Bangla. Thus, my research required substantial amount of translation. I solely performed the work of translation. In order to save time and keep the study manageable, I translated selected portion of texts that is included in my findings as a form of direct quote or paraphrase. I am an English-Speaking Bengali, whose first language is Bangla and has substantial academic training in English. I understand the social and cultural nuances of Bangla as a language and how it can be presented in English. The translations took place simultaneously with transcription. Whenever I received a transcribed interview from transcriber, I re-read it several times, identified the important texts that might be part of my findings and translated them immediately. After all the transcriptions were done and initial themes were identified, I read the original files multiple times again and made sure to translate any other significant portion of interview that were not translated earlier but might be important for the findings section.

Typically, more than one person are involved in quantitative research to do translation and back translation so that the translation could be cross checked, and any

potential bias could be dealt with. However, in qualitative research, the role of translator is seen differently. Unlike quantitative research where researcher is seen as an objective entity, researcher in qualitative research is considered an important part of the qualitative research and thus his or her subjective perspectives, perceptions, and interpretations become an essential part of the research. Temple and Young (2004) highlighted that there is no single correct translation of a text, and any translated version can be just one of the multiple ways of representing the reality. Therefore, I believe me doing the task of solely doing the translation is appropriate in the context of my research. Making a translated version, whether it is done by a single person or multiple persons, may mean that my representation of their speech may differ than what they meant.

Data Analysis

Analysis of qualitative data is a continuous process that requires continual reflection (Creswell, 2012). As part of this ongoing reflection, I wrote memos during data collection. The memos included my thoughts on various aspects of research including methodology, findings and connection of the findings to my theoretical frameworks (Marshall & Rossman, 2016). The data analysis process entailed seven main steps: 1) organizing data; 2) immersion in data; 3) generating categories and themes; 4) coding the data; 5) offering interpretations; 6) searching for alternative understandings; and 7) writing the report. The memos provided an initial idea of emerging themes and categories; however, it required reading and re-reading of the interview transcripts in order to immerse into data and generate substantial themes and categories and produce a rich analysis (Marshall & Rossman, 2016). During the process I needed to be reflexive

and flexible in order to generate themes that makes more sense and are more relevant to my research questions. An important step of data analysis is the coding of data, that requires sorting, categorizing, grouping and regrouping of data into piles and chunks that are meaningful (Rossman & Rallis, 2012). I used my analytical framework presented earlier to guide me in generating initial analytical categories. However, I remained flexible to let any new ideas that my participants bring in during interview. For generating themes, categories and coding I mostly used manual method such as reading, re-reading and highlighting important sections of text and grouped them into specific codes and categories.

Based on my analyses several sub-themes emerged from the data for each of my research question. I further grouped them to create larger themes related to my research questions. As I read and re-read the themes, few global or overarching themes also emerged that are cross-cutting to all the research questions. The table below present the global, major and sub-themes for this research.

Table 2: Linking research questions and themes emerged in data analysis

Global/overarching themes: Parenting as nuance experiences of disjuncture, hope and opportunities Navigating culture and identity through intentionality and informed choices to create a newer form of existence in a globalized world		
Research question	Major theme	Sub-theme
Parenting an identity	Positioning identity as a spectrum	
	Identity as disjuncture: nostalgia, alienation, loss of support and privileged position	Nostalgia of collective living Fear as Muslims

		<p>Brown skinned parenthood</p> <p>Fear of being lonely</p> <p>Struggle and identity of working mother</p> <p>Loosing class privilege</p> <p>Missing the senses of authority and respect</p>
	Identity as interconnection: opportunity, hope, intention and negotiation	<p>Renewed motherhood: individual identity and freedom of mobility</p> <p>Single motherhood: individual spaces</p> <p>Opportunity of independent parenting</p> <p>Renewed fatherhood: connecting egalitarianism and authority</p> <p>Renewed class identity as positive effects</p> <p>Identity as hope and inclusion</p>
Navigating transnational spaces	Western Massachusetts: a new homeland as safe refuge	<p>Liberal, progressive, and safe</p> <p>Diverse and multicultural</p> <p>Good multicultural parenting network</p> <p>Multicultural modelling of parenting</p> <p>Good institutional support</p> <p>Creating a community</p> <p>Shallow multicultural interaction</p> <p>Challenges of cultural continuity</p> <p>Absence of neighborhood</p>

	New York: a homeland in a foreign land	Cultural continuity and a sense of ancestral homeland
	Bangladesh: the anchor, the root	Cultural agents Connecting to families in Bangladesh Language Visit Food
Navigating children's schooling as a cultural space	Negotiating difference in classroom culture and teaching-learning	Content vs process Bridging and coaching for high academic expectations Independence and authority
	Schooling and intergenerational relations	
	Schooling and language	
	Navigating diversity and segregation	

Discussion of key findings on the research questions based on these themes and sub-themes are presented in the finding chapters. The global or overarching themes were not discussed separately; rather these themes were relevant for all three research questions and presented throughout the findings chapters. These overarching themes make the central arguments of the dissertation while research question-specific themes provide further support to these arguments. The themes and sub-themes are not separate to one another; rather all of them are interconnected to provide a nuance answer to the research questions.

Researcher Identity and Subjectivity

It is important for the researcher to be conscious of her/his identity, subjectivity and assumptions. In qualitative research the researcher is considered as part of the study because researcher's unique ways of seeing the world determines how data is filtered and interpreted (Rossman and Rallis, 2012). Wagle and Cantaffa (2008) argued that it is important for a researcher to come out of the 'false veil' of neutrality and embodiment as research projects are embedded in researcher's identity. Here I tried to reflect on my identity and subjectivities in relation to the research topic and research participants that might have influenced my interaction with the participants and the ways how I and the participants interpreted and made sense of their experiences as part of this research journey.

I, myself, am a Bangladeshi parent who is constantly navigating his child-rearing which is shaping my identity and subjectivity. That suggests I am connected to the research topic at a personal and experiential level. In the course of my own child-rearing practice I developed my own ideas about good child-rearing practices in an immigration context. As an individual, I have my own views of child-rearing, identity which do not always comply with either Bangladeshi norms or U.S. norms. For example, although I was brought up in a religious Bengali Muslim family I went against the custom and kept a name for my baby which is neither Bengali, nor Islamic. Similarly, I did not keep an American name either. However, there are instances when I tried to accept and balance between both the Bengali and USA norms. For example, I am trying to teach both Bangla and English language to my child. Therefore, for me, my identity as a father is not something very fixed, rather changing and situational. For me, the struggle is finding my

own space as a parent as I navigate through these both discourses of child-rearing and identity. I needed to be conscious that my research participants may have different world view and experience of the topic.

As I mentioned earlier, my research participants were drawn from personal network; either I knew them or someone I know knew them. I had seen some participants in action as they engaged in child-rearing and I developed some ideas and assumptions about their child-rearing. This had two implications. First, my assumptions could influence how I engage with them and interpret what they shared with me. Second, because of my personal acquaintance with them and my similar status as a Bangladeshi migrant parent, my participants might have viewed me as an 'insider'. Participants' view of the researcher as an insider or outsider has an important role to play in shaping their responses and expectations (Foster, 1994). If participants view researcher as insider they can unpack their thoughts and emotions in such a manner that an outsider may never be able to access and provide the researcher with in-depth and rich data (Wagle & Cantaffa, 2008). As an insider, it may have been easier for me to connect with themselves and their issues and develop a deeper understanding which would have been difficult to achieve from an outsider point of view. Sharing same culture and understanding what culturally acceptable way of is interacting with parents might have helped to have an open conversation with the parents. The familiarity of the context, such as the smell of home, smell of cooking, understanding of cultural and social symbols put in the home, paying attention to small but nuanced cultural hints and behaviors make it easier to transition to open dialogic interviews. These are benefits of being an insider. However, as Wagle and Cantaffa (2008) mentioned, my status of relation with them was highly dependent on the

context. It varied with person to person and within a person it varied in answering different questions. They could also be conscious or concerned about spontaneously sharing their experiences as I knew them personally. My familiarity with them could also impact how they represent themselves as good parents. Because there is a stake in sharing someone's personal stories and experiences with a person with whom someone is connected in a community or neighborhood tie. The issue of trustworthiness becomes central in this concern.

Ethical Considerations

Respect for persons, beneficence and justice are among most important corner stones of ethical practice in research (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004; Hemmings, 2006). In particular, these uphold the non-consequentialist ethics that rests on the ideas of individual rights and responsibilities and the ethics of justice. The core belief of this ethics is all people are endowed with fundamental rights that may not be denied, even for the greatest good for the greatest number (Rossman & Ralis, 2012). In general, respect for persons is ensured through informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity (Hemmings, 2006). Informed consent should make sure that participants are as fully as possible informed about the purpose and audience of the study, that they develop an understanding what their agreement to participant entails, that they give their consent willingly and that they understand they can withdraw from the study at any time without prejudice. Confidentiality and anonymity in research is aimed at attempting that the data is not shared with anyone in a manner that may risk compromising participant identities.

Respect for Persons

I complied in full with Institutional Review Board's guidelines and requirements. I prepared separate written consent forms for parents, family members and community members. For children, I created both parental permission and children assent forms. The forms detailed the purpose, procedure and location of the study, the methods to be used, probable time commitment and how data will be used. I also outlined how confidentiality and anonymity would be assured. I used pseudonyms for the participants to ensure anonymity. I further described the voluntary nature of their participation, outlined if there is any benefits or risks involved in participation, and how I would ensure confidentiality. I tried to present the data in such a manner that it is unlikely that participants were recognized, but it is not guaranteed, even when pseudonyms for names, places or institutions are used. I informed my participants about this possibility through the consent forms. The forms also described how the data, including the audio-recordings, written transcriptions and translations, would be processed, stored and preserved. The forms further stated how confidentiality would be ensured while the data is transcribed, and while writing the research or any publication based on the interviews.

Beneficence

Beneficence is another important aspect of ethical research. The idea of beneficence is illustrated in what Hemmings (2006) has described,

The ultimate aim of educational ethnographic and qualitative research and, for that matter, education research in general, is to generate knowledge that contributes to the well-being of human beings and is otherwise beneficial to scholarship, policy, practice, or the people who participate in the research (p. 12).

So, it is important to ensure that participants as well as the larger professional community and the human being are benefitted from the study. In my research, my best hope was that this exercise would help contribute to the scholarship by generating important knowledge on Bangladeshi immigrant parents' child-rearing and identity which was much less studied topic and population. My participants were not directly benefitted from the study. However, this study may help bring their voice by taking into account their lived experiences. It was my hope that they could at least sense that their stories and experiences would help promote a better understanding of Bangladeshi immigrant parents' life in the USA and thus they perhaps felt connected to the study. Many participants shared with me after the interview that they found the experience of taking part in this research rewarding and personally connecting since they have very little scope to share their experiences and struggles of parenting.

Part of beneficence also constitutes in doing no harm to participants and not merely using them for the sake of research as Guillemin and Gillam (2004) pointed that "people should never be used merely as a means to someone else's end" (p.271). However, although with all the best intentions of the researcher, Rossman and Rallis (2012) warns that in qualitative research, potential for harm is often subtle and stem from the nature of interaction between the researcher and the participant. I tried to be conscious that my interaction and question did not personally hurt or embarrass my participants or created any negative dynamics within the Bangladeshi community. I also tried to schedule the interviews in a manner that was least interruptive and most convenient for my participants.

Justice

Another important aspect of ethics is justice. It focuses on fair treatment of the participants (Hemmings, 2006). In my research, I tried to maintain that I did not see myself as an ‘expert’ of the topic, rather during my interaction with them I tried to acknowledge that my participants were the knowledge sources from whom I could learn a great deal. I tried to be aware that I respected the time and effort they dedicated for my study and treated their voices and perspectives with fairness. During data analysis and interpretation, I tried to give careful attention so that their voice was sufficiently presented.

Ethics in Practice

Besides the procedural ethics such as respect for persons, beneficence and justice, Guillemin and Gillam (2004) emphasizes that “ethics in practice” is also very important to address that describe those “ethically important moments” that arise out of the complex dynamics between researcher and participant (p.265-266) during the doing of research. To deal with these, issues reflexivity is an important exercise which requires the researcher to actively consider their own actions and their role in research process (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). It helps researchers to notice their thoughts, feelings about the world around them and to use that knowledge to guide their actions, communication and understandings. (Etherington, 2007). During my research I engaged myself in a reflexive practice to address the day-to-day ethical issues. For me, it was a continuous back and forth of thinking and reflecting through how I identify with the topic, what implications it might have for my research and interaction with my participants, how did

I need to change my approach, how I was addressing the ethical issues, how did I take into account both the insider and outsider voices when I analyzed, interpreted and made sense of data and so on. There are few ways to address it in a systematic manner. I kept a memo as I collected, analyzed and interpreted data. Memos helped not only generate themes and raise methodological and conceptual issues as I collected data, it also helped me learn about my subjectivities and assumptions and any ethical issue that arose during data collection. Beside this introspective exercise, I also engaged in ‘member validation’ with my research participants that allowed me to share my understanding of their stories and experiences and see whether I capture their voice sufficiently.

Trustworthiness and Credibility

The notion of validity and reliability is debated in qualitative methodological literature; instead the ideas of trustworthiness and credibility are proposed for qualitative research (Cho & Trent, 2006, Rossman & Rallis, 2012). A qualitative research is considered trustworthy and credible if it follows the standards of competent practice and if it is ethical (Rossman & Rallis, 2012). In the previous section, I discussed how I planned to ensure ethical standards throughout my research process. I also described my own subjectivity and positionality in relation to the research which would help readers understand the perspectives that I brought in the research and put my interpretation into the context of my subjectivity. In this section, I outline the procedures that I build into my research design in order to ensure that the research follows the norms of rigorous and competent research.

I outlined the analytical framework of my study based on my literature review and aligned my research questions and themes with the analytical framework. This was expected to give the research a strong theoretical foundation and make the methodology consistent with the analytical framework which would help ensure the credibility of the research (Cho & Trent, 2006). Since I clearly mentioned my analytical framework, this would help my readers understand the threads of thinking I was following for the research and help them in informing their interpretation of my work accordingly. Besides, I provided thick description of my findings which would help bring the stories of experiences in-depth which is an important requisite for experiential qualitative research approach (Rossman & Rallis, 2012). I also put in place a process of developing analytical memos and transcription that had informed my analysis and helped it align with my analytical frameworks.

Another important aspect of this study was triangulation. It is the process where multiple sources of data, multiple points in time or various methods are used to get a comprehensive and in-depth picture of the scenario (Creswell, 2012; Rossman & Rallis, 2012). This is very important for ensuring credibility of research (Rossman & Rallis, 2012). I included parents as well as family members, children and community members in this study. This was not to validate or check what parents shared, but to bring in more comprehensive and in-depth picture about navigating child-rearing practices. Besides, since parents in Bangladesh are closely tied and related with other family and community members, it was my hope that this would help bring family and community perspectives in the topic. I also used multiple methods such as genogram, in-depth semi-structured

interview and follow-up interviews for parents who are my primary participants for this research. The use of multiple methods has further strengthened the triangulation process.

Member check is also considered as an important strategy to ensure credibility of the research. Through member check, qualitative researcher shares data and his/her interpretation with participant (Cho & Trent, 2006; Marshall & Rossman, 2016). I provided a summary of the data I collected from my participant at the end of each interview in order to check if I captured their views correctly. I expected that aligning my method with analytical framework, addressing ethical issues, developing analytical memo and providing thick description and following strategies such as triangulation and member check would help ensure the trustworthiness and credibility of the research.

Delimitation

The major delimitation or scope of the study was I limited it within a non-conventional migration destination for Bangladeshis and thus excluded popular destinations such as New York, Los Angeles, Boston, Austin and so on. The main purpose of doing the research in a non-conventional immigration destination was to bring in diverse knowledge in the scholarship. Most of the available research on Bangladeshi immigrants in the USA took place in popular immigration destinations, particularly in New York or other large cities where there is relatively a big Bangladeshi community available and immigrants can seek out for material and symbolic resources, identity and well-being maintenance in their own ethnic enclave. Conducting this research outside of the popular migration destinations meant I had missed knowledge that could be generated from participants that can be considered more mainstream among Bangladeshi

immigrants in the USA. Besides, the knowledge will not be generalized to all Bangladeshi immigrant parents in the USA. However, the aim of qualitative research is not to create generalized and representative knowledge; rather to study the phenomenon in depth in order to learn more about a small number of individual's or a group's stories and experiences. Besides, the proposed design allowed me to generate important and new knowledge on how the parents who are not located within a Bangladeshi enclave of large migrant destinations and have to deal with less social and cultural support from their fellow countrymen due to lack of presence of such enclaves, negotiated and renegotiated their child-rearing.

Another delimitation of the study was I excluded parents who have children less than a year old. This meant my research did not aim to learn about child-rearing issues of parents of new born and infants. However, the purpose of the study was not to learn about specifics of child-rearing, but the identity issues related to child-rearing. I recognize that parents having new born and infant children may as well have to navigate child-rearing that shape and reshape their identity like I myself encountered. However, I felt parents need to immerse into parenting for a significant amount of time in order to reflect on the identity issues of parenting in a foreign land. Besides, parents of toddler children could also bring in fresh stories and experience of parenting when their children were infants and might be able to do so with more reflection.

Finally, a good number of my participant were drawn from relatively higher education and economic background than the majority Bangladeshi immigrants in the USA. Many of the participants whom I knew and those who live in Western Massachusetts are highly educated professionals and enjoy relatively higher economic

solvency. This they may not be representative of all immigrant Bangladeshis. However, Bangladeshi immigrants in the U.S. generally have higher educational and economic backgrounds than Bangladeshi immigrants in many other prime immigration destination countries. Typically, Bangladeshi immigrants in the U.S. are relatively higher skilled, better educated and have wealthier background. In that consideration, Bangladeshi immigrants in Western Massachusetts are not very far in terms of skill, education and wealth compared to other Bangladeshi immigrants in the U.S. and thus still be broadly representative to some extent although it is not the aim of qualitative research.

CHAPTER 4

IDENTITY IN DIASPORA

This chapter presents the major findings related to parents' identity negotiation as they engaged in parenting in the USA. The findings are primarily drawn from the interviews with parents. Occasionally findings from family members and community members were also used to further the understanding on parents' identities and experiences of parenting. The chapter is organized in three sections. First section provides an overview of parents' identities as immigrants in general. Second and third sections situate parents' identities in a complex scenario of disjuncture and intentional interconnection as they experienced nostalgia, alienation, loss of position, hope, opportunity and reconciliation. While the second section focuses on disjuncture, third section discusses the interconnection.

American (U.S.) and Bengali Identities: Positioning in an Identity Spectrum

This section provides an overview of how parents defined their identities in general after living in the U.S. for years. The findings in this section are largely presented in their own words. Their responses showed a spectrum of ideas about themselves and their identities. These responses about themselves and their identities were also reflected in later part of the interviews when they shared their experiences of parenting in the U.S. In general, they were clear that, at the core, they remained as Bengalis and cherished Bengali identities, but they were also open to embrace some or parts of American identities as well. In fact, the change was obvious as Pushpita asserted,

[I am] mostly Bengali because I spent the most crucial years of my life [in Bangladesh], I spent first eighteen years of my life in Bangladesh which are obviously most crucial because in those spent days all your philosophies and all

your ideologies, everything is in place because it's embedded in you. So I will always be more Bengali than as an American. But [I am] also American as my views have changed, my ideology has changed. I am not the same person as I am a Bengali or I was as a Bengali.

This indicated towards an interconnected nature of identity where Bengali and American culture are simultaneously at play which constantly changes and reshapes parents' identities. But the stress and importance are put more towards Bengali identity.

Rahat's statement about his identity also echoes the similar idea,

First and foremost [I am] definitely Bangladeshi. I do not deny that I am a Bangladeshi. Definitely I am Bangladeshi although I do not follow some [Bengali] traditions anymore may be because it does not make sense to me and I don't necessarily agree with it. But I would not consider myself as American in the cultural sense. Legal sense, yes. Legally, yes. But culturally, not completely. I like many things here. I like their attitudes towards certain things and perspective towards certain things. So I would say I am mostly Bangladeshi but part of my identity has become hybrid. Some perspectives of American culture combined with my basic Bangladeshi fundamental identity which will never change (Translated).

Within these given ideas of hybridization of identities, it is also evident that parents often tried to be selective as what part of American cultures they should embrace and what they should not. They tried to be mindful and intentional as they navigated their personal and parenting experiences in the U.S. When they selected, they often kept their Bengali values and culture as a norm to make decision. Mustafiz explained,

Since my child will grow up here and stay here, he has to adjust with everyone. But what I would say since we are Bengali Americans, we have a culture of our own. So, there are certain things [of American culture] that matches with our culture. But still your main focus should be you observe everything and then pick what is good for you. Things that does not match with us and or do not go along with us, avoid that (Translated).

Sabbir also highlighted the similar idea and further elaborated that the identity as 'American' itself is a diverse idea and every immigrant is an American in his or her own way of intentionally choosing and deciding. Since America is made of and made by

immigrants, every immigrant comes with his or her own cultural baggage and exercises it and eventually that becomes a part of American identity. Sabbir further explained,

When we are an immigrant, you are Americanized. But you are Americanized in your own way. Like my daughter, she was born here, brought up here, she will be more attached to the American culture than I would. I am American in my own way, but been here a long time, I follow the rules and regulations over here. Culturally we are still probably more Bangladeshi than American. But what is American culture? It's all mixed up in a way. So, I say culturally we still do our things. For example, we are observing the cultural practices that we would have done in Bangladesh such as religious festivals, Eid. We keep doing this here. So we are Americanized but in our own way.

Few parents preferred to maintain a distinction between their American and Bengali identities based on the contexts. For example, Zarifa stated, “When I mix with Bengalis here [U.S.], I interact like a Bengali. When I am at work, I am now an American and I behave like that (Translated)”. However, some parents also stressed that identity does not always depend on how they define it to be. They do not always have agency to decide their own identity and it is not always intentional. A large part of their identity is also defined by how others, particularly dominant white Americans, perceive their identities and eventually that decides how they themselves perceive their own identities. According to Avijit, in the USA mostly white Americans are considered as ‘American’ where ‘race’, ‘skin color’, and ‘language’ often works as a marker to decide who can be given the status of ‘American’ in a cultural sense. Avijit elaborated,

If I tell other people that I am an American, sometimes they look puzzled. Their expression says I am not an American.....Besides, there are people who were born and brought up in the USA. Their accent is so Americanized that you cannot say they are from other culture. But anyone can recognize from my accent that I am not a native [English] speaker.... Although American population is changing, still after few generations they embrace [white] American culture. So, I think even if the black, brown and white population ratio changes, the culture will not change in that sense. I mean the white culture will remain dominant. (Translated).

There was also a sense of confusion and alienation from both Bengali and U.S. culture as parents tried to make sense of their complex experiences of immigrant lives in the USA. Some parents felt after living for many years in the USA they could neither embrace US culture, nor could they be a Bengali anymore. Ishrat mentioned,

Ishrat:actually this is very hard to define. Because I am a Bengali Muslim. But I have been living here for many years. So, I am, kind of, neither American nor 100% Bangladeshi. I could not be an American or remain a Bangladeshi.

I: You are saying you are neither an American nor a Bangladeshi. But you could say you are both an American and a Bangladeshi. So, you are saying it in a specific way. Is there any reason for that?

Ishrat: The reason is I have forgotten many thing about Bangladesh after living here for years. Suppose, the cultural practices we used to do in Bangladesh, I do not do it here anymore. You cannot do things here as you did in Bangladesh. You have to Americanize many thing. But again, I cannot adopt fully adopt American culture. So, I have lost something and gained something. But it's all mixed up and hard to make sense (Translated).

Few parents opined that living in the USA has given them a good opportunity to look back and reflect on their own culture. Living in a foreign culture has made them aware about their own culture. Reza stated that at one hand it has deepened his idea about his national identity, at the same time it has made him more open and accepting to practices of other cultures as well,

I have a more deeper idea about my national identity and cultural identity. I think I have a more deeper understanding of that. Previously I just used to do that sometimes but I never knew it. I never tried to understand or acknowledge my culture. Like it's a part of my culture now. [Now] In many cases I acknowledge that and sometimes I cherish that or like that. I appreciate that sometimes in many cases I think that no it's fair or it's not. This should not be like this should be like that. So, it's kind of like I tried to I'm you know in many cases I'm tailor making myself. Some of the parts I'm sticking to my culture, while some other parts I'm taking from other culture (Translated).

There are also parents, who prior to coming to the USA, have been involved in good professional career in Bangladesh. As they decided to move to the U.S., they had to

compromise that part of their identity. They become nostalgic and prefer to go back, but they also face a dilemma because they believe their children will have good education and opportunity here. As Dilruba stated,

....If I return to Bangladesh, I have a social identity. I have a good position. Since I do teaching, I have a good community, I have honor. It is very difficult for me to get it here specially in this current political environment. Overall U.S. does not seem to be very welcoming.... But if I think of my children's learning, this country is a better option. It will also be good for their socialization. But it will be difficult from cultural and religious perspective. Overall, I think this place [U.S.] is better for children than there [Bangladesh] (Translated).

These personal reflections from parents exhibited a complex and diverse way of understanding their identities in the U.S. There are feelings of belongingness to Bengali culture, but there was also realization that some aspects of U.S. culture have also become inseparable parts of their identities. Parents identities thus became hybrid as suggested by Bhabha (1994). According to their perception, they are not fully Bengali as they could remain in Bangladesh, neither are they fully American; rather they are somewhere along the spectrum as they create newer form of identity by negotiating both Bengali and American identities. Parents' words also support Hall's (1990) cultural identity as parents are in flux, always going through a process of change. Moreover, there is also understanding that their identities are often defined by representation of others, particularly dominant white Americans. The 'ideoscape' and ethnoscape' (Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2002) have significantly changed as parents have to constantly navigate different cultural ideologies and interact with people that they typically would have done in Bangladesh. This has changed how their identities are formed and shaped. Parents also felt confusion and alienation as they found it difficult to make sense of the complex and often contradictory expectations of different cultural systems. In this complex scenario,

parents also intended to make informed choices on how they navigated both the culture and identities. Within this larger spectrum of how parents generally defined their identities in the USA, the following sections will shed light on their identities and experiences on parenting.

Identity as Disjuncture

Part of the Bangladeshi immigrant parents' identity was shaped by a sense of disjuncture. Parents felt nostalgic about the relational, collectivist way of life in Bangladesh and wished they could have a similar life in the USA. They also sensed alienation and otherness as they lived their lives as minority Muslim and as brown skinned parents. Parents also experienced a loss of support and privileged position that they used to enjoy or could have enjoyed in Bangladesh if they raised their children there. The following sub-sections provide further elaborations on these feeling of disjuncture.

Lone Parenthood: Nostalgia of a Collectivist, Relational, Interdependent Parenting

Collective nature of Bangladeshi society and the individualized nature of U.S. society- this was a common way that parents frequently compared and represented their lives in Bangladesh and USA. Parents became nostalgic as they were recalling their experiences of growing up in a collectivist society, while their lives as parents here is embedded in an individualized culture. The togetherness, the proximity of living closer to one another, the sense of community and belonging, high value of relations, sacrifice for the family and friends, respect and authority of elders- are key features of Bangladeshi society as stated by the parents. For instance, Lopa mentioned that she liked and missed the communal living in Bangladesh, where people share their good and bad times,

happiness and sorrows, and many aspects of their everyday living. Yasmin also shared the feeling for communal and joint family life, “The fun of joint family is siblings and cousins live under the same roof, we share so many things. People here do not feel it. When children grow up they leave parents. But I always want to stay with families (Translated)”. The ethnoscape (Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2002) has changed. The people that were surrounding them in Bangladesh were not physically present in the USA.

Parents brought this cultural baggage, the ideoscape (Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2002) of understanding relations and embeddedness in collective way of living, with them when they came to the U.S., lead their life and engage in parenting. Parents looked for that experience in U.S., and often got nostalgic as Towhid mentioned,

The gathering, the family environment- we miss it very much. People there are loving. You get great neighborhood. Neighbors always care for you. I was born in Bangladesh. I feel the love of that soil....When my mother died [in Bangladesh], the whole neighborhood was awake. They showed love and respect. This is called love for neighbors. This is what makes the difference.

When Bangladeshi parents in U.S. thought of their children, they became sad that their children are missing that collective and relational way of living. In particular, collective way of living and strong presence of relatives and families help children in Bangladesh observe Bangladeshi norms and values, which parents feel their children are missing in the U.S. Children learn many things from uncles and aunts and cousins. But in the U.S., they are brought up alone. Mustafiz stated, “[Children] learn many things from uncles by observing them. Or they have same level [age] siblings, they learn from them. But here he is alone (Translated)”. Same feeling was shared by Lopa. She mentioned she was grown up in an extended family, whereas her daughter is growing up without relatives here. She only knows her parents closely, but her ties to her relatives are loose.

Lopa thought her daughter is missing the love, warmth and togetherness of an extended family. Nonetheless, parents loved to present this relational and collectivist aspect of life as an important guideline for their children. These findings are consistent to previous researches such as Espiritu (2003), Falicov (2005), Kuczynski, Marshall and Schell (1997) and Wolf (1997) where cultural continuity has been found as an important parenting goal. Previous research on Bangladeshi families also lend support to these findings (for example, Bose, 2014) where cultural continuity through relations has been considered a guiding parenting principle for Bangladeshi families.

Besides the emotional aspects of a collective and relational way of living, there are practical benefits to it as well. Ishrat elaborated the benefits of living in a collective society drawing from her own experience. She stayed in Bangladesh for a year when her son was young. He used to go to a playgroup school there. Ishrat mentioned that her mother or sister often took her son to school. They also often made his food, took him out for a walk. This gave Ishrat some relief from child care duties. She missed these supports very much here in the USA. Her son also had cousins over there which helped him socialize. But here he is growing up alone without any siblings or cousins. Ishrat further elaborated how, in her perception, relationship was viewed differently in Bangladesh than U.S. She recalled that in Bangladesh she used to consider her cousins as sisters. She did not necessarily differentiate her cousins as different than her own sisters. When her son was there, she taught her son to call Ishrat's niece as his own sister. She did not teach her that she is his cousin. But as his son grew up in the USA, Ishrat noted that his son maintained a relational definition and distance and started calling her sister's daughter as

cousin. He even complained Ishrat that he was embarrassed by his friends in school, because he called his cousin his sister.

Alienation and Otherness

In this sub-section I discuss parents' sense of alienation and otherness as they navigate their lives as minority Muslim and brown skinned parents. I further discussed parents' potential fear of being lonely at an older age because of raising children in an individualized society.

Muslim Parents, Media and the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election

Religious beliefs and values are inseparable parts of parents' identity. Day to day exercises of religious practices and upholding the religious values in individual and family life was important for many parents. However, fear as a Muslims, both for themselves and for their children, was a common theme in the research. Despite the fact that some parents did not face direct religious discrimination or hate crime, they were always concerned about religious segregation and hate crime against them and their children. Particularly, after recent Presidential election, some parents who witnessed both 9/11 and current presidential campaign, thought that potential of religious hate crime and segregation was higher than 9/11. As I mentioned earlier, the data collection for this study took place during and after U.S. presidential election. Parents were afraid that during Trump Presidency they and their children will be discriminated because of their religious identities. Particularly, parents of adolescent children were very concerned in post-election situation as Ishrat shared, "As a mother, I did not have much tension so far.

But now, I am afraid about religious discrimination (Translated)". Ishrat informed that she came to the USA right after 9/11, but she felt that the scale of hatred, alienation and feeling of insecurity were much higher during and after 2016 presidential election. Anti-immigrant sentiment, particularly, anti-Muslim immigrant sentiment was at such a high that she had never experienced before.

Parents particularly highlighted the negative role of media in escalating their fear as Muslims. The way immigrants are portrayed in U.S. media was a big concern for Bangladeshi parents. Parents found two large threads of media portrayal where media either overwhelmingly criminalized immigrants or portrayed them as helpless and vulnerable. There are several influential mainstream media which portray immigrants very negatively. In particular, the recent election has given some media the extra enthusiasm and scope to double down on their negative portraying of immigrants, particularly about Muslims. This has been a very difficult situation for Bangladeshi parents. Parents found that some media are constantly criminalizing the Muslims. These media were highlighting few criminal activities and tagging and labelling the specific immigrant population as a whole responsible for those crimes. This propaganda was always there, but the recent election campaign has taken it to a whole new level. The mediascape (Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2002), although in a globalized world, represents a biased and discriminative understanding of Muslims and reinforcing the otherness and inferiority of Muslims as a dominant ideoscape (Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2002). This creates a strong sense of disjuncture as parents try to anchor their lives in the USA in the age of Trump. When these media are telecasting news of foreign countries, particularly Muslim countries, they are stereotyping and showing the news of terrorism and religious

extremism, often in a fabricated or partial manner, and ignoring all other aspects of the place and population. As Lopa pointed, there is a total ignorance of the targeted country's rich cultural and historical heritage, people's warmth and their history of fighting against terrorism and sacrificing their lives to prevent terrorism. Parents felt that this stereotyped view has recently increased the anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim sentiment among U.S. people, which has made parents feel very vulnerable about themselves and their children. Lopa further stressed in the follow-up interview,

How did Donald trump win? He won because of media...Media showed that Trump will build a wall in Mexico border and he will not let Muslims come in America. Media justified it. If media did not telecast these, people would not have thought about [these]. So, media is deciding who is good and who is bad (Translated).

Parents such as Dilruba, Rahat, Pushpita, and Omar have strongly felt that such negative portrayal was a big challenge for them as parents. They were very concerned this continuous negative portrayal may promote a sense to their children that they do not belong to the U.S. and the U.S. do not belong them. Since their children do not go to Bangladesh very often, it is difficult for them to strongly tie with Bangladesh either. However, they felt being situated in Western Massachusetts may provide refuge from this negative campaign. Parents largely believed people in this place does not represent hatred mentality. So, despite the fear, they thought Western Massachusetts provided them a sense of relative safety. But although they thought society in Western Massachusetts is very liberal, tolerant and respect diversities, but still there were fear among some parents that the concern of hate crime cannot be fully ruled out. There are people and families who either believe or get influenced by propaganda of media like Fox as Rahat stated,

This is [respecting diversity] not happening at all the homes. They are perhaps saying Fox news is the ultimate news. So, if this happens, they [children] will be

affected. They may feel our friends with whom we read in school and sit side by side, think we are separate. They may not mix with us. These are the things provoking my negative thinking more.

In particular, if there is any identity marker such as Muslim name or Muslim dress code such as Hijab, the risk of religious segregation increases. For example, Dilruba expressed her feeling of separation. She thought she faced alienation from people because of her dress code. As a practicing Muslim woman, she wears hijab which is a visible identity marker. This visible dress code has made her more vulnerable to segregation, “since I am a female and I try to comply with religious rituals, there is a representation in my outfit. I can be identified easily. And I think I get a sense of discrimination from people’s behavior because of it (Translated)”. Dilruba further explained that although her partner is a practicing Muslim and her children observe religious practices as well, their appearance and dress code would not identify themselves as Muslims at the first instance. So, they are less vulnerable to it. However, they always feel concerned and alienated when it comes to embracing and expressing their identity as a Muslim in public sphere. Pushpita and Rahat also seemed concerned about their children as they bear Muslim names. Although their children are still young, they thought the probability of being harassed or teased in future because of their name was very real as Pushpita explained,

Ahona’s [daughter’s pseudonym] last name, you know right away, it’s a very Muslim last name. So, we talked about what if she is teased at school? Because she probably will be at some point and who knows with the election coming how it changes....

Pushpita further explained that she and Rahat kept talking about it. They assured themselves that such discrimination or harassment may not occur in a place like Western Massachusetts, but the possibility can never be ruled out. Besides, if they move to

somewhere else, the risk of religious discrimination may become much higher. They struggled to find a way how they should talk about it with their daughter. If they talk, they run the risk of creating a sense of alienation in their daughter. If they do not talk, they run the risk of not their daughter aware of a real possibility of harassment or discrimination. So, how to communicate the possibility in such a manner that does not make her feel segregated but at the same time aware her of the situation, was a real dilemma for them.

To deal with the fear parents often resorted to withdrawal from media or imposed self-censorship in public domains. For example, Reza informed that he completely stopped watching media during the election campaign. Dilruba also mentioned that she did not allow her children to watch television and any sort of news during campaign. She was hoping for a better time when the election would be over and the hate campaign would subside a little bit. Some were imposing self-censorship on themselves and asking their children to be very cautious in their conversation. Parents were afraid that giving opinion or reacting publicly on the news telecasted in media might not be safe for them or their children after Trump was elected president. Mustafiz has developed a strategy as he illustrated,

Mental pressure is higher than before. For example, we could discuss or openly share our ideas in office or outside. Now I hide from these, or talk about something else. I try not to expose my opinion as much as possible. I have also told my son to keep silent if anyone says him anything about his race or religion (Translated).

These experiences shared by parents are consistent to findings in previous studies such as Bakalian and Bozorgmehr (2009) and Ross-Sherriff, Tirmazi and Walsh (2007). More specifically, study by Rahman (2010) depicted similar fear among Bangladeshi

diaspora after 9/11 terrorist attack and how it created a forced awakening of ‘Muslim’ identities. The fear, the alienation and self-censorship force parents to experience disjuncture as Muslim immigrants which constitute parts of their existential territories (Guattari, 1995, 2002). While, as mentioned above, parents tried to find hope and refuge in a liberal place like Western Massachusetts, the negative emotions and feelings such as fear and alienation experienced as a result of larger macrocosm of U.S. presidential election, created a sense of disjunctured existence among parents.

Brown Skinned Parents and 2016 U.S. Presidential Election

Besides religion, race and skin color also appeared as an important identity issue where parents felt a sense of alienation and segregation. Discussion with parents revealed that in a liberal and well-educated place like Western Massachusetts parents did not face racial discrimination at a macro-level or directly, but there certainly existed micro and subtle racism which parents could feel. Some parents noted that they faced difference in behavior because of their skin color and racial identity. It is often not intentional or conscious and people often did not even notice that they were behaving in a different manner, but parents could feel the difference. As Bangladeshis, parents often faced that their identity was collapsed into larger Indian identity by many white Americans, some of whom may not even know Bangladesh. Some parents even noted that they could feel they were not considered as American by few white Americans although they knew their citizenship status. Parents often felt that they were viewed as inferior because of their skin color and racial background. Omar mentioned,

I have faced racial bias because of my brown skin. People do not hurt me by saying it, but you can feel it in their expression.....I think my brown skin has bothered me the most. Because if there is a complex in people, it will be

expressed. If you feel someone is inferior, you will definitely express the complex at any case. And I can feel that in some instances (Translated).

The findings are consistent to previous research on race and discrimination (for example, Li, 2011). However, the racial difference was not always expressed from outside, rather there was a constant awareness among parents on their status as minorities. Pushpita mentioned that she is always very conscious when she and her children joins a gathering where whites are majority. She and her children usually attend a music together program where there are very few brown people. She mentioned whenever she entered the room, she felt she had some 'radars' in her brain which automatically activated and send signal that she is the minority here. It was not like anyone was behaving differently or in a biased manner, but she could not get rid of the feeling that they are different there. But she tried to hide her feelings because she thought if her white American friends and their children understood that Pushpita felt different, they can also start, even if subconsciously, behaving differently with her children.

The sense of difference based on skin color was prevalent among children as well. Parents noted that children were selective in friend making based on racial or skin color identity. Omar noticed that there are many white kids who prefer other white kids over brown or black kids as playmates. He thought children notice and understand the racial clues very well and act accordingly. Omar pointed that his son Ayman also understands the boundary and chooses his friends accordingly. Omar provided an example where his son was participating in a circle song in a family center. At one point children were supposed to hold each other's hand in a circle. There were three other white kids who hold one another's hand, but were not willing to hold Ayman's hand.

All the examples provided in these sub-sections are examples of racial awareness and racism at micro level. With the Trump administration sworn in, several parents were afraid the racial discrimination might not remain at micro level. While Lopa sought refuge in the liberal nature of her neighborhood, she was clear that her daughter was still likely to face direct racial discrimination as an immigrant while trump is in power. She thought although Western Massachusetts is liberal, but there are still supporters of anti-immigrant sentiment who will feel encouraged to engage in discriminatory behavior as the new American president promotes anti-immigrant attitude. She thought the fear was more real for her as a first-generation immigrant parent than her child who were born here. But she further thought it is inevitable that her daughter would face such racially biased attitude in her school and neighborhood. She illustrated, “There [in school] are many supporters of Trump. She [Lopa’s daughter] may face many problems, even hate crimes. But she may never tell me and I may never know (Translated)”. To deal with this potential fear, some parents were preparing their kids mentally and psychologically. For example, Lopa felt that she needed to tell her daughter right away that she is not a white kid and she may face discrimination as an immigrant. Lopa was certain that her daughter would face it, so she thought she would better let her daughter know the bitter truth before it happens. She thought there is no escape from media, so letting her know of that is perhaps one of the best solutions. Other parents took preparation in order to prevent their children from being physically assaulted. For instance, Omar enrolled his son to a martial arts program so that he could face any physical harassment or bullying. But he felt he lacked in terms of preparing his son psychologically to stand up to any hate crime he might face in schools or other places. He thought his son would likely face such

behavior when he would study in upper grades. So, Omar considered talking to his sons about this matter then to mentally prepare him of prospects of any such bias or racial discrimination. These measures point toward the fact that the racial identity, particularly in the age of Trump, has reinforced an ideoscape (Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2002) which sees immigrants as others. If immigrants are Muslims or non-white the otherness even escalates. Bangladeshi parents, being both Muslims and non-whites, experienced disjuncture on both the fronts. So, their existential territory (Guattari, 1995, 2000), in relation to their racial and religious identities, was constituted of fear, alienation and otherness to a large extent.

Fear of being Lonely Parents at Old Age

The fear and alienation were not always from outside as illustrated in previous two sub-sections on religion and race. Parents also feared of being lonely within their family. Fear of being separated from their children was a potential concern that parents imagined frequently as they were leading their lives in the U.S. In Bangladesh, children take responsibility of parents when they grow old. It is not only about taking financial responsibility, but also keeping their parents with them, sharing the same house, consulting them for important decisions. Parents, even they grow old and no longer the heads of the family, still earn respect and play an authoritative figure on many important decisions. However, in the USA once children grow into adults, they often part from their parents. They lead separate family lives. Some parents and community members felt that the independent nature of the society created a distance between children and parents. For

example, Shuchorita shared her perception of the U.S. society and the issue of taking care of parents,

Here many children bear their own expenses after high school. Parents do not look after that much. So, when they [parents] grow old, they [children] also do not look after. So, they become self-centered. I still take care of my children, regularly be in touch with them. Parents here [U.S. parent] do not do this (Translated).

This concerned parents. They found it difficult to accept their children may leave once they grow adult. While some parents accepted the reality and believed that they can take care of their own financial responsibilities, they still wanted to stay together or closer to their children's families. Partho mentioned that he did not need his children's money, but he wanted them to give back in terms of keeping in close touch and taking care of them. Partho highlighted that their parenting is defined by 'sacrifice'. Bangladeshi parents sacrifice everything, their own personal life, their comfort, their properties for their children. He highlighted that while U.S. parents also take care of their children, but at the same time they maintain their own space, their own personal life. Sacrificing everything, even their future properties and any security they need for their elderly life defines Bangladeshi parents' identity as parents. So, children should be giving back to their parents. Some parents opined that because of the highly competitive nature of U.S. society and economic demands, people are very conscious about developing self-dependency among children. Omar mentioned that while self-dependency is good, but it also makes people self-centered to some extent. He further opined that the focus on self-dependency and individuality has also promoted that people should highlight on their own feelings. So, parents here in the U.S., while care for their children, are also aware of their own feelings as husbands or wives or partners. If their conjugal life does not work

well, they part. On the other hand, once a child is born in family in Bangladesh, parents try as much as possible to ignore their own issues even if their conjugal life is not going well. They try hard to avoid divorce or separation because they think their children might suffer for their decision. So, like Partho, Omar stressed that parenting in Bangladeshi culture is marked by 'sacrifice' from parents. He further noted that this sacrifice is tied with the expectation from parents that their children will look after them when they grow old. First generation immigrant parents in the U.S., particularly those living in Western Massachusetts, have very few close relatives around. So, they fear once their children leave for job or career, they will be alone. This fear indicates to a new ethnoscape and ideoscape (Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2002) parents. Their fear stem from being separated from their children at an old age to comply with the ideoscape that U.S. culture promotes.

Loss of Support and Privileged Position

Immigration to the USA has caused a loss of tangible support and privileged position for parents. Working immigrant mothers lacked the support needed for mothering. Parents' new class identity caused them to suffer from loss of many privileges they could enjoy in Bangladesh. Finally, they also compromised their respectful and authority figures as parents as a result of living in a society where independence and individuality are highly valued.

Struggle and Identity as Working Mother

Most of the mothers interviewed for this research was involved in some sort of work, either in an employment or family business. In Bangladesh also, number of

mothers working is increasing, but in the U.S. the rate is much higher. But the Bangladeshi mothers thought the struggle of working mothers is high in the U.S. because of some reasons. First, in general there is still expectation that mothers would look after family and household chores and child-rearing duties even if they work. Second, there is less family support to maintain the demands of both employment and household works. Although not on working mothers, Russo et al. (2015) discussed the issue of loss of supports among immigrant mothers from Afghanistan. The formal support system such as day care is so expensive that it is not economically affordable for many. Therefore, the pressure is still on and often more than mothers face in Bangladesh. Lopa explained,

In Bangladesh we have housemaids, mothers, aunts who look after many things. [Here] I return home at 3:30pm. Then I have to think what I should cook, what Sutopa [daughter] would eat, then I have to take Sutopa [daughter's pseudonym] to dance school. Here responsibility is much higher than in Bangladesh. In Bangladesh you have some helping hands, but here women have to work much more (Translated).

To add on this burden, there is the issue of parental leave for new mothers. Zarifa mentioned that in Bangladesh women get few months of paid parental leave which is helpful for mothers with newborn babies and infants. She shared her experience as a mother in Bangladesh that she was able to enjoy parental leave when her son was born. In contrast, Pushpita shared her frustration of child-rearing experience of being a mother of young children and working at the same time. She thought it is very unjust for mothers not to be able to get paid parental leave. Although she felt fortunate that her mother-in-law stays with her and her mother pays visit once in every few months, she thought the absence of paid maternity leave forced her to leave her newborn children to join work. But more importantly she felt mentally very disturbed by the fact that the absence of paid parental leave is actually a disrespect for women:

So, the mainthe main obstacle would be a whole due with the maternity leave.... and until I became pregnant I did not ever thought about maternity leave or didn't think about getting paid during maternity leave because I am coming from Bangladesh where maternity leave is now ... I think four months or five months, or it's... longer than three months. Here there is no maternity leave. I never even gave in any thought until I was pregnant I was looking into things and then I found out United State is one of them..... two countries in the entire world which do not give its mother, I don't wanna say her mother because it is so disrespectful to woman.

Besides, the issues of maternity leave and lack of supports, another struggle of working Bangladeshi mothers shared by Dilruba was the change in the parental role and identity and how it affected her psychologically. Dilruba and her partner both were very well positioned in their career in Bangladesh. They had family support and they could avail house governors and other supports because of their solvent financial status. Dilruba was also able to provide quality time to her children because her job did not demand exhaustive or excessive works. However, when Dilruba started her Ph.D. in the U.S., she had to struggle to maintain the demands of her study and work. This affected her ability to provide any time, let alone quality time, to her children. As a mother who believes that parents should be able to provide good time to their children, the harsh reality of a Ph.D. student and university worker is psychologically affecting her and she often questions herself as a mother. Moreover, her partner sacrificed his good career in Bangladesh in order to join and support the family in the USA. He is primarily taking care of the children and looking after household, which has prevented him from looking for new study or work opportunities. This has furthered the psychological suffering of Dilruba as she thought her partner is sacrificing his career and education for her. She felt guilty. Further conversation with Dilruba revealed that there is a gender dynamics to it. In Bangladeshi culture, it is normally expected that women can sacrifice their education and

career for the sake of family and husband's career. But the reverse is not common and often not appreciated. Therefore, Dilruba felt her psychological suffering was higher because of her gender identity, "I think, so far my experience is, if I were a man my psychological suffering would have been less. I think I suffer more mental stress because I am a woman (Translated)".

As we notice from the experiences working mother shared, the ideoscape and ethnoscape (Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2002) for them have changed. Working mothers have to navigate a newer ideoscape where parental leave or support is not promoted for mothers of new born; at the same time, they largely lost the support of people that they could enjoy if they reared their children back in Bangladesh. Besides, the silent pressure of maintaining the traditional gender role was still there. A working mother's life as immigrants, was thus further complicated by the need for balancing cultural expectations of both Bangladeshi and U.S. society and doing so with less support.

Renewed Class Identity and the Struggle of Loosing Privileges

Most of the parents interviewed for this research had comparatively wealthy economic backgrounds in Bangladesh. They mostly came from higher-middle to higher economic class background. In the U.S., they largely belong to middle class and some of them are at lower economic class, at least temporarily. For some, that was a change in their class identity. The issue of downward class mobility is consistent to Kibria's (2011) findings on Bangladeshi diaspora in the USA. The loss of class privileges led to struggle and challenges in accessing better facilities for them and their children. Some parents have experienced downward class mobility after coming to the USA. This downward

mobility affected their ability to provide excellent quality facilities for their children. Back in Bangladesh, they could buy the best quality products such as clothes, diapers or other regular amenities for their children. They also had chauffeurs, house workers who could serve them and their children. In the U.S., only rich people could access such facilities. Towhid explained, “Life is hard in the USA. Back home, we had driver, housemaids, good status, everything. Here, we have to do everything on our own. Life is tough here (Translated)”.

Dilruba stressed how her inability to buy good food, clothes, toys and other child-care stuff has affected her psychologically. She mentioned back in Bangladesh she never had financial stress, while in the U.S. she has to spend every cent very cautiously. She felt her hardship will be over as soon as she finishes her study and gets a job, but she would never get this moment back when her children are young and she is unable to provide them with stuff she wants to buy for them,

The situation is quite opposite after coming here. When I go to store, I look for the cheapest items. When I buy for myself, I do not mind. But when I buy for my children, it is painful....These things mentally upset me very much. I can not accept it. We had a very good life there, but here we have to think of lot of things. I think twice before buying even a simple thing for my children. This affects me psychologically very much (Translated).

Similar view was shared by Ishrat, Lopa, Yasmin and Sabbir. Particularly, mothers felt that women in financially solvent families in Bangladesh could access lot of good supports which made their parenting works easier. They were brought up solvent by their parents. Their mothers and relatives had supports in regular household work and child care as they could financially avail such house worker services. But here in the USA, they do not get these supports, but a large part of parenting burden is still upon mothers. This intersection of traditional gender identity and renewed class identity has

affected their life in the USA, perhaps more than it affected fathers. Similar to what was discussed in several previous sections, the changed scenario of ideoscape and ethnoscape (Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2002) have put parents in a challenging situation and partly shaped their identities as disjuncture.

Missing the Sense of Authority and Respect as Parents

Because of the collectivist nature of society in Bangladesh, elders have a special authoritative place in family. They consider themselves as possessing more knowledge on what would be beneficial for their children. They have a very respectful and authoritative position over their children. So, parents often play key role in their children's lives, particularly important decisions around children's future study, career and marriage and they expect children should respect their decision. While the parents interviewed for this research were more open to friendly relationship with children, they also stressed that respect and authority plays an important role in their relations with children. However, some parents felt that there is a gap in their expectation and the reality as they engaged in parenting in the USA. They felt they wanted their children to respect their elders and teachers in schools in the USA. But their children find it difficult maintain the expectation. Zarifa mentioned, "Here respect is less...Respecting parents and other peoples, these are less here. I have to explain him [son] (Translated)".

Similar findings in noted in Bose (2014), Maiter and George (2003) where respect for elders has been found as an important value encompassing immigrants' lives. In this research, the concern was more with the adolescent children. Parents were afraid in the prospect that children might leave or start living independently once they turn to

adulthood, even as soon as 18 years of age. Parents felt that they also enjoyed independence when they grew up as a child in Bangladesh, but there was a boundary. Sometimes parents just instructed them to do something or even scolded them, if they wanted children not to do something. But Ishrat felt that did not hamper their independence or affected them negatively. Parents, as children themselves, thought their parents had the right to discipline them even by scolding if necessary. They considered senior or elder family members had the right to do so. But here in the U.S., independence is so much promoted from school and every sphere of life, children become very self-conscious. It made some parents feel afraid. They felt they may lose tie with children if they decide to stay on their own as they turn young adults. Ishrat painfully acknowledged, “He may get his own separate life when he turns 18. But he is a part of me....That would be painful (Translated)”. To Bangladeshi parents living in Bangladesh, 18 is just a number. But Bangladeshi parents living in the U.S. want to live close to their children even if they turn adult, take part in their family life and decisions. But they are afraid of losing that love, care and position as their children grows into adulthood. These findings lend support to the ideas of changing ideoscape and ethnoscape (Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2002) as creating disjuncture and deterritorialization among parents as they anchor their lives as immigrants in the USA.

Identity as Interconnection

The previous section portrayed a frustrating and disjuncture picture of immigrant parents’ identities and experiences. However, there is another side to it. Their existence as immigrant parents is also marked by hope, opportunity and intentional choice to

interconnect the different values and culture systems. Parents' gender identities were negotiated and interconnected to create a meaningful and compatible existence in the society they are located in. Parents also intentionally tried to connect and build on both the individualistic and collective societies by drawing from the strengths of both cultural systems as they promoted a balance of interdependence and independence among their children. their new country also provided them with the opportunity to reshape their class identities in a way that is egalitarian and healthy for them and their children's psyche. Last, but not the least, while parents were afraid they could face alienation or abuse because of their religious and racial identities, they were also able to find hope in the place they lived in to feel included to the society.

Renewed Motherhood: Opportunity for Self-identity and Freedom

Parents felt that there were some important changes in their gender identities in the USA. These changes provided with new challenges, but also offered new opportunities and freedoms that reshaped their identities as parents. In particular, the change in identities of mothers was significant. Because of the individualistic nature of the U.S. society, Bangladeshi mothers have a lot of responsibility for which they do not necessarily get a lot of support from other family members. But in Bangladesh, although urban life is becoming rapidly individualistic, it is still more collective and mothers can draw on supports from other family members or neighbors or friends. However, due to the individualistic nature of U.S. society, women have an identity as individuals and as women. But back in Bangladesh, Yasmin felt, when a woman becomes a mother her other identities become secondary or very minor and her whole identity is collapsed into

motherhood. But in the U.S., they could at least enjoy some individual freedom. So, there is a trade-off. Here the individual identity or identity as a woman, a worker, or something other than a mother comes at a cost. Yasmin thought this society gives lot of responsibility on mother but does not provide as much supports apart from some help from her partner. On the other hand, back home, mothers get some support apart from her partner, but she has sacrificed a lot on their other identities apart from motherhood. The idea explained above is reflected in Yasmin's view,

I think when they talk about women, in U.S. and Bangladesh when they talk about a mother one thing is general that is they give a lot of responsibility on you as a woman and not necessarily they will empower you. It's more responsibility that makes things stressful here and there also. But one thing is that as it's more individualistic society they also help you to have an individual identity even if you're a mother. But back home sometimes it's more like you are a mother so your whole life is more dedicated to your children and sometimes it is very problematic because even if your child is not doing good in exams then you feel like oh my God my whole life is ruined because of that. But I don't think it's here. This is one thing I'm taking from here. It's a good thing (Translated).

Another important change mothers felt as rearing their children in the U.S. is more fluid role definition for fathers and mothers as they engage in daily household chores and child-rearing activities. In Bangladesh, parenting or child-rearing is primarily a mother's job, not a father's job. If the mother is not employed outside of home, then she is usually entirely responsible for parenthood although she may receive supports. If the mother is employed outside, her partner may help in child-rearing, but it is still mainly the mother's job. So, if something goes wrong with the children, mostly the mother is held responsible, not the father. In the U.S., mothers felt, that they still carry that burden of responsibility and identity as mother, but to a lesser degree. Because there is less support available, fathers engage in household chores and child-rearing. For example, Pushpita and Rahat saw their gender identity as very fluid, shared and interchangeable as

they engage in parenting in the U.S. They felt they have can define their parents' role as convenient. For instance, Rahat shared,

I think it's a role that [is] adaptable.... And it's not necessarily defined by how much you earn, where you work or your sex. That [is] not necessarily defining your responsibilities, your role. My wife can also sort of play the 'father's' role. And I can play my 'wife's' role, the 'mother's' role. So, I think it's more adaptable, it's more about the combining the identity and responsibility.

I: No need to draw a clear line?

Rahat: No, it is not about drawing clear line.

Rahat's partner Pushpita also shared that they discuss everything together to make decisions on their role as parents and they often play their roles interchangeably. Pushpita and Rahat both make significant financial contributions to family and children's education while both of them share day to day child-rearing responsibilities. Therefore, their gender identity is not strictly segregated. This finding is consistent to Jambunathan and Counselman's (2002) study where they found parents use role flexibility as an important way to cope with the changing demands and realities in a foreign land. However, some mothers felt that it is difficult to ignore the social and cultural expectations of gender role. They felt the pressure of playing the traditional mothers' role, or otherwise run the risk of facing social humiliation. For example, Lopa thought her stay in the U.S. did not necessarily translate into more freedom for her as a woman or mother. She thought the U.S. society itself is not very emancipatory. But more importantly, as she is more engaged with Bangladeshi community she is always concerned of what people would say, what society would say. So, even though she does not definitely prefer some traditional mothers' role performed by Bangladeshi women, she often has to comply with the expectations.

Another important aspect of living in the U.S., particularly for mothers, is more mobility and safety. Yasmin opined that in the U.S. woman has more mobility and more security. Women are perhaps safer here, particularly at their mobility at night. That is one important freedom that women enjoy it here more than Bangladesh. Ishrat also felt she enjoys more mobility and safety as a woman than she did in Bangladesh. Ishrat mentioned that this mobility has allowed her to work at night, go different places, take her child to school and other places, buy stuff for children and household particularly at night, or even to take a break from her day to day strenuous mothering role. In Bangladesh, mothers may go outside to schools, or stores, but typically at day time. But for night time, it is mostly the father's job. So, the sense of safety as a woman has helped her engage in family and parenting works for which she needs to go out of home particularly at night. However, Lopa had a different view. She opined that this higher mobility does not mean women are freer here. They perhaps enjoy more mobility, but not more freedom. When it comes to independent decision making, job and career placement, making key decisions for children and parenting, men or father still have more power over women or mothers or girls. Therefore, as a woman and a mother she does not feel more emancipated. So, for some mothers, this was not just an opportunity, there is also a tension and a trade-off. Overall, the findings suggest that mothers' identities became more fluid and interchangeable with traditional father identities. They still had to comply to some extent with the gendered expectation as mothers, but they also had the opportunity to develop identities as individuals and as women alongside with their mother identities. Thus their identity negotiations supported the ideas of cultural identity by Hall (1990) and hybridity by Bhabha (1994). Mothers were able to interconnect their roles

and existence as mothers, as individuals and as women to reshape and redefine their identities and create a newer form of existential territory, the idea proposed by Guattari (1995, 2000).

Single Motherhood: Less Support but More Individual Spaces

Single Bangladeshi mothers in the USA has unique challenges and opportunities as parents. They have struggle for supports, but opportunity for individual spaces. Ishrat is a single mother and she shared her struggle as she had to play the role of both father and mother to her adolescent son and felt the need of supports. Ishrat mentioned that life as a single mother in the U.S. is very difficult for her. She mentioned it would have been easier for her to raise her son in Bangladesh as a single mother because of availability of supports:

It is difficult because there is no relative here. This is why it is more difficult. If I was in Bangladesh, there was many helping hands. Being a single mom would not have mattered. Because, when I was in Bangladesh with him [her son], I was alone [without spouse]. I was there for a year. I was alone. But I never felt that I was handling him as a single mom (Translated).

Ishrat further elaborated that if she lived in Bangladesh as a single mother she could get two benefits. First, she could receive tangible supports from her parents, siblings and other key family members. But here in the U.S. she is lone responsible to provide all the supports. Second, in her extend family in Bangladesh her son could get male role models such as Ishrat's brother, her sister's spouse who could play the authoritative role. Therefore, navigating the financial burdens, child-rearing and household work load and playing both father and other's role is very challenging for her as a single mother. However, as much as Ishrat missed the support system in Bangladesh,

she was also worried that in a collectivist society she would have faced more questions about her single motherhood and more pressure to get married again. It is not that she did not face such pressure in the U.S., but she thought the pressure is much lesser here. She explained why it would have been difficult for her to live in Bangladesh as a single mother for long term, “Culturally, people will ask many questions. What happened? Why happened? And if I want to forget it, people will always ask questions and thus remind me of the fact (Translated)”. Therefore, to Ishrat both living in the U.S. and Bangladesh as a single mother has its pros and cons. She lacks the support here, but she could maintain her identity as a woman and keep away from facing unwanted questions about her past marriage life. These findings are consistent to discussions in the previous section as we observe single mothers create a newer identity as more hybrid and fluid suggested by Bhabha (1994) and Hall (1990). The ideoscapes and ethnoscap (Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2002) around individual identity and woman’s identity does not face them with disjuncture only, they also provide them with opportunities to connect both the cultures. This interconnection does not help solve the problem of lack of support but provides the opportunity to develop identity as individual and enjoy some personal spaces.

Opportunity to Promote Independence through Parenting

Although parents missed the communal life and frequently became nostalgic as they cherished the memories, there were also some concerns of living in a collectivist society. Several parents mentioned that living in a collectivist society often comes at a cost. Yasmin mentioned people often have to compromise their individual needs and preferences to meet the expectation of others. There is also stress as a result of being

compared with other key friends and family members. Rahat stated that as a child, he had to be concerned about the comparison people drew between him and other children, between his family and other families. Because there were close connections with his neighbors and families, this was helpful at one hand to live a more communal life and get support from one another, but on the other hand there was constant comparison as well. Sabbir highlighted that living in such a close-knit community is often challenging as children and parents have to think what other people would say if they do certain things. Sabbir thought this was a big obstacle to be independent parents as well as grow children's independence. He elaborated,

There are many things that my father and mother say not to let [my daughter] to do. If we stayed in Bangladesh, you are concerned what people would say. But this is not the case here. You know, if child wants to be free, let them be free. There is so many things in Bangladesh we could not do just because of what people would say.

In particular, nurturing independence among children would have been difficult, parents felt. Dilruba argued that in the urban middle class and higher-class societies, where most of the parent interviewees of these research came from, children in general are over-protected. Parents felt urban parents often do unnecessary over care for children. Solvent parents living in urban areas, often bring their parents or other family members to live with them. They help parents in taking care of their children. Parents can also afford house worker support. The supports often result in making the child unnecessarily dependent on others. Feeding, regular care such as putting on and off clothes, taking care of own stuff, cleaning rooms and play spaces, carrying their school bags, and so on- children get supports from others which otherwise they themselves could perform. So, for solvent urban parents the intersection between availability of financial and social

resources, relatives and the class position has often resulted in over care and overprotection for children. Dilruba provided a contrast between the dependent nature of parenting in urban Bangladesh and the more independent nature of parenting in the U.S.,

So far I have seen, there is a big difference in our parenting and their [U.S.] parenting. One simple example is we give extreme care to our children from very childhood. We do not make them self-dependent in feeding or anything. For example, in our society we feed our children and here when a child learns to sit, they give high chair or booster to feed on their own. I can tell about my own son. Two people used to feed him. They used to run after him, sing songs and tried to convince him in many ways to feed him. I do not see it here at all (Translated).

In the U.S., partly because of the individualistic nature of the society and partly because of Bangladeshi parents' relatively detached life from their relatives and family members, they have relatively less pressure to deal with the constant comparisons and compromise their individual spaces. Parents in general appreciated the focus on independence, particularly on children's self-care and the ability to provide their opinions. Reza noted that because of the individualistic nature of U.S. society, children have voice. They participate in making decisions about what they like or do not like, their future life and career aspirations. Many parents stressed that developing own views, learning to take care of oneself, giving opinions about their preferences are good practices and also necessary for future success in education and career in the USA.

Pushpita stated,

Definitely, I think ah here children are taught be independent from a much earlier age than in our culture. In our culture I don't think we are not taught to be independent until we go to college, maybe not even that like until you get a job then you are independent.... We are changing that for our children. We want them to be more independent. I think we can do it here.

Bangladeshi parents liked some features of both the cultures and would like to have their children take from both culture. They definitely wanted their children to focus

on relations with friends and families, respect for elders and taking good care of parent, but they also liked their children to grow more independently than in Bangladesh. So, parents here try to develop a friendlier relationship with children while drawing some boundaries on some aspects and being more open to others. Mustafiz stressed, “We need to draw on both. It does not have to be either or. As parents our role is to help children benefit from both the practices. I talk to my son regularly. Together, we try to find a balance”. Parents thought here children see more independent culture outside of home, they tried to make sure children learn the more collective ways of living at home. They also take their children to Bangladeshi events, programs, connect them with other Bangladeshi families in Western Massachusetts and help them keep in touch with their relatives in Bangladesh. Thus, they hoped that children would be able to learn both the culture and find a balance that is appropriate for them and their families. Reza further confirmed Mustafiz’s viewpoint and stated that giving children both the pictures is important and helping them guide on finding a balance through open conversation is necessary. These findings are consistent to several previous researches where immigrant families’ identities are seen as negotiated, hybrid and flexible (for example, Deepak, 2005; Kuran & Sandholm, 2008; Sanagavarapu, 2010, Tam et al., 2012; Tam & Chan, 2015; Tamis Le-Monda et al, 2008). The views shared by parents in this study about drawing on the possibilities of promoting independence through parenting while maintaining some aspects of interdependence, authority, respect and close relation points towards the ideas of identity as changing, evolving, in progress and hybrid. The different ideoscapes and ethnoscapas (Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2002) does not face them with disjuncture only, it also creates opportunities to constantly reshape their identities as

proposed in Hall's cultural identity (1990) and Bhabha's idea of hybridity (1994). But more importantly, it provides opportunities to interconnect both the culture towards a desired direction so that parents can draw on the strengths of both the cultures.

Renewed Fatherhood: Opportunity to Balance Authority and Independence

It is not only mothers who went through important shifts in gender identities, fathers also reconstructed their gender identities as they engaged in parenting. They had to balance between the changing identities of fathers as prime breadwinners to an important but not the sole financial contributor for the family. Bangladeshi parents interviewed for this research viewed that immigrant fathers in the U.S., alike fathers in Bangladesh, are still generally seen as breadwinners for the family. Sabbir stated, "Here women do more [household] works, but financially responsibility is still father's. It is not very different from Bangladesh (Translated)". Similar view is shared by Rahat as he felt similar social pressure from his community,

Rahat: Here still generally father is seen as sort of their bread winner of the house, I mean, you know, they are the main earner. They make sure the family has a house. The family gets, you know, the proper amount of meals a day, the schooling of the kids. I think that general thing is still here.

I: Even if the women or the mother work.

Rahat: I think overall, that tendency is still here. I think its slowly moving away definitely it has changed a lot. and I would say it has changed a lot in our country [Bangladesh] too. I mean ... most of my friends they also work and their wives also work. But I think, at the end of the day, they still sort of see the male figure as like the head of the house.

Sabbir felt that Bangladeshi immigrant fathers, although in the U.S., are primarily tied to their own Bangladeshi community for their social life. Within the community, they create a micro-Bangladeshi culture and the expectation around father's role as

primary breadwinner still exists within the community. Therefore, perhaps Bangladeshi fathers in the U.S. feel pressure of continuing that tradition. However, several parents such as Mustafiz, Omar and Pushpita mentioned that this pressure is not as strict as in Bangladesh. They argued that it is very difficult to sustain a family with one person's income in the USA. Therefore, there is a collective understanding in the Bangladeshi community that women, like men also need to contribute financially to sustain the family. Mustafiz and Omar stressed that this understanding makes the Bangladeshi community more open to the possibility for both men and women to be breadwinners for the family. According to them, while men are still viewed as primary breadwinner, women are also increasingly being accepted as breadwinners. So, the traditional understanding of father and mother as playing distinct gender role is weakening. There is now more acceptance of seeing men taking important financial role, but not the entire role. Women has a share in that role. Similarly, women are not the sole household and child care provider, fathers participate as well. Thus, father's identity has been negotiated, interconnected and changed to adjust to the needs and expectations of different cultural systems and newly emerging needs of immigrant lives.

Another important part of identity is fathers have to redefine father-child relations. Bangladeshi fathers opined that back in Bangladesh fathers play a more authoritative and respectful role which helps them discipline their children. There is power dynamics which promotes fathers as more powerful and mothers as more caring. This definition of fatherhood helps maintain the discipline and authority within the family, but that also creates a distance in terms of interaction with children. Although the young generation Bangladeshi fathers living in Bangladesh are gradually opening up to

their children, it is still towards the authority, respect and distance spectrum. While the mothers are seen as symbol care and a more egalitarian relation status with their children, fathers are seen as more authoritative and should maintain respectful distance. However, Bangladeshi parents in the U.S. felt this practice is changing. Fathers opined that they enjoyed more friendly relation with their children. Mustafiz stated, “Here, I do not maintain that [authoritative] distance with my son (Translated).” Avijit also confirmed the similar view,

Yes, very friendly [relation with my daughter]. In Bangladesh, I do not see such friendly relation between parents and children. Here parents have friendly relation with children. We have similar relation with our daughter. But we did not have such relation with our own parents (Translated).

They liked this new identity and loved to maintain an egalitarian relationship with their children. But at the same time, they thought they also needed to maintain some authoritative edges which might sometimes be needed to discipline their children or maintain order. Although they are living in the U.S., they still that they have a key role in deciding their children’s major life decisions such as their education, peer selection, career choice, are similar where fathers are supposed to play a key role. Bangladeshi parents, as Reza mentioned, usually maintain the balance by keeping friendly relation as they engage with their children on mundane day to day interactions, while they maintain a relatively higher degree of authority when there is need to take important decisions on their children’s lives. However, according to Reza, this authority role is not something that is directly imposed on the children without any significant consultation, rather parents consult with their children thoroughly and try to come up with a mutual decision. Again, this refers to an intentional effort by parent to connect and balance between differential cultural expectations on parent-child relation in order to benefit from both the

practices. Jambunathan and Counselman's (2002) study also discussed the role flexibility and role extension as important ways immigrant parents adjust to changing needs as they anchor their lives as immigrants. Fathers in this study navigated different ideoscapes (Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2002) around cultural expectations of fathers' roles in a manner that allowed them to intentionally interconnect and draw on both Bangladeshi and U.S. cultural expectations to reshape their identities as more fluid and hybrid proposed by Hall (1990) and Bhabha (1994).

Renewed Class Identity and its Positive Effect on Parents and Children

In a different section I have discussed that some parents felt the renewed class identity caused some adverse effects on them as parents. At the same time, the renewed class identity because of migration has brought some positive changes and opportunities as well. Some parents felt that class division in Bangladesh is very acute which is not good for parents and their children. The higher class and middle class are relatively small, while the lower economic class is large which created acute discrimination and concentration of wealth among few. Accessing good quality education, health and other facilities largely depended on being able to financially solvent. So, children are exposed to the effects of class division from an early age. Parents thought this was not good for children and their psychological development as they may get normalized to this oppressive situation. On the other hand, in the USA, although class division exists, the division is not as acute as in Bangladesh. Because of large middle class and better accessibility of quality education and health, the financial struggle and division are less. Parents thought they could avail good quality education and health and other basic

services for their children without necessarily depriving other children or competing too much with other families. Children do not also get exposed to very acute class division which is good for them and their psyche. So, they appreciated this new class identity and the way it influenced their parenting. Mustafiz illustrated,

Mustafiz: [In Bangladesh] parents' social status and financial stability is a big deal. You can see upper class or upper middle-class children go to English medium school. Middle class are going to private Bangla schools. And those who are low-middle class or even lower, they are going to government schools or not going at all.

I: So, educational opportunity depends on financial status?

Mustafiz: Yes. But here [in the USA] whatever class you belong to and whatever financial status you have, you go to similar quality school, except few private and church schools.

I: So, you are saying class difference is less visible here?

Mustafiz: Yes. Class division is here, but it is much less than in our society.

Similar view is echoed in conversation with Sabbir. He also agreed that class division is much less visible in public domain in the U.S., such as in public places, schools, public parks, shopping malls and so on. People are not strictly divided based on their income level and people did not get different behavior from others because of their class identity. He acknowledged there are super riches in the U.S., but majority of the Americans belong to lower-middle or middle class. Like many other financially solvent countries, U.S. has been able to provide quality primary and secondary education for its children, which is still lacking in Bangladesh. Thus, the less acute class division parents experienced in the U.S. provided them with opportunities to draw on its strengths. While they struggled to cope with less supports as they lost class privileges, they also embraced the opportunities it provided to recreate a newer form of class identity for them and their

children. Occasionally they tried to bring family members such as grandparents to provide support to compensate for the loss; at the same time, they connected to the U.S. cultural norms around class identities. Thus, their identities became more interconnected, hybrid and fluid and lend support to the ideas proposed by Hall (1990) and Bhabha (1994).

Identity as Hope and Inclusion

Parents were afraid at the potential effect of a Trump presidency. But the fear and alienation were not the only picture. There was hope and inclusion. Parents found hope and support in the place they were located in. Avijit and Sabbir believed that religious and racial discrimination would certainly happen should Trump is elected as President. But the parents believed that Massachusetts in general and Western Massachusetts in particular, is very progressive and the community is providing great deal of support to help them feel part of the US society. Omar explained in the follow up interview,

After Trump won, many American friends send me message saying sorry to me as a Muslim. They said what Trump is doing is not right and we apologize for that. They appreciated me as a Muslim so that I do not feel vulnerable (Translated).

He further illustrated that he got more invitation to take part in various parenting activities from his American friends after the election. He noted that he has recently been included as a member of a baby-sitting co-op where all other members are American. But they included him because they thought Omar might feel alienated as a Muslim. They also thought it might be a good way for Omar's children to feel included as well. Similar view was shared by Reza as he thought people in his neighborhood and workplace were supporting him more since Trump came into power. He thought because of a liberal place

like Western Massachusetts, coping the post-election crises was easier for him and gradually he felt less concerned about his children.

Overall some parents felt, despite the growing religious discrimination and hate crime, they and their children are relatively safer in Western Massachusetts. Pushpita has found that in Western Massachusetts people are open and liberal about religious identity and her being a Muslim did not necessarily face her with discrimination. She celebrated religious festivals and her friends knew that she is a Muslim. However, she was also conscious that it does not mean there cannot be any discrimination. She thought perhaps she was aware of religious discrimination and therefore, when she selected friends she consciously or sub-consciously made sure her friends are like-minded, open and liberal. So, it is unlikely for her to face discrimination in a close or friend circle. Thus, parents found hope and inclusion in the place they were living. They connected with the space and capitalized on the ethnoscape (Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2002) it provided to connect to the people who are empathetic to immigrants, particularly Muslims. Therefore, the ethnoscape did not provide a feeling of disjuncture only, it also offered hope, support and inclusion.

Chapter Summary

Discussions in this chapter depicted a complex, fluid and diverse ways parents' identities are shaped. At one hand, parents faced disjuncture where sense of nostalgia, otherness and loss were prevalent. Parents missed the collective way of living. They also suffered the fears of otherness because of their religious and racial identities and at the prospect of leading a lonely life separate from their children. Parents further struggled

because of lack of support as working mother struggled to maintain both the needs of work and family lives. Even more, parents had to face the loss of privileges because of their change in respect and authority in the family and their renewed class identities. On the other hand, they also embraced hope and opportunity that their new lives offered. They found hope and inclusion in Western Massachusetts to reduce the fear of religious and racial discrimination. Their renewed gender identities offered more individual freedom and mobility for mothers. Fathers also redefined their relations with their children to create a more egalitarian relation with their partners and children. Besides, living in an individualistic society offered them with the opportunity of promoting independence among them and their children as they engaged in parenting. Moreover, their renewed class identity provided them with the opportunity of leading life in a society where class divide is relatively less. Thus, parents went through significant changes, often contrasting, in their social relations and supports, gender, religious, racial and class identities. The changes they went through did not take place distinctly or separately on various aspects of their identities and culture. It was not that one aspect of their identity and experience offered new hope and opportunity and the other aspect faced them with disjuncture; rather the sense of disjuncture and connectedness took place simultaneously and influenced every aspects of their identity. For example, the renewed gender identity faced mothers with unique challenges as it separated them from potential support systems that collective societies in their ancestral homeland could offer, but at the same time it also helped establish a more egalitarian and fluid gender relation in the family and promoted construction of multiple identities not only as mother, but also as women, as individuals. Similar conclusions could be drawn on other aspects of their

identity negotiations as well. The ideoscapes, ethnoscapas, mediascapas provided a complex landscape where parents had to navigate both disjuncture and draw on hope, opportunities and inclusions. The lend support to the idea that parents had to be flexible, fluid and open to change as they constantly created their identities as immigrants. Thus, the findings were consistent to Hall's concept of cultural identity (1990) and Bhabha's idea of hybridity (1994). But the parents were mindful of this opportunities and challenges and attempted to navigate these complex landscapes with intention, choice and agency within the given reality to create a new form of existence that is beneficial for them and their children. Their existential territories (Guattari, 1995, 2002) was thus not tied to single space, ideoscape or ethnoscape; rather were negotiated through different spaces, ideoscapes, ethnoscapas, and through multiple, often contrasting emotional experiences. The idea of intentional navigation of identity and culture to deal with disjuncture and build on potential interconnection is further explored in the following chapter on imagined homelands.

CHAPTER 5

PARENTING AND IMAGINED HOMELANDS

Parents' conception of homelands was not tied to a singular place. Three important spaces and the people that form these spaces played crucial role in constructing the idea of imagined homelands for Bangladeshi parents. These spaces, the people that live in them and the cultural values, norms they promote and how parents interact with these spaces, people and their ideologies largely constituted parents' existences. Parents and their families are physically situated in Western Massachusetts. The liberal, friendly nature of Western Massachusetts and the diversity of the people that live here and the resource-rich environment have made it a favorite parenting site. However, due to low presence of Bangladeshi families in Western Massachusetts, parents found it difficult to provide Bangladeshi cultural models for their children. Besides Western Massachusetts, nearby large cities, particularly New York, plays an important role in Bangladeshi parents' lives. The strong and higher presence of Bangladeshi community in New York provided the possibility for parents and their children to be attached to Bangladeshi culture and its people. Finally, their connection with Bangladesh, both at imagined level as well as real connection to its people through phone and internet created the opportunity to remain attached to their ancestral homeland. In the previous chapter I outlined parents' identities and experiences in the U.S. as a complex interaction between disjuncture and hope and opportunity. Parents attempted to navigate these spaces with intention to deal with the disjuncture they faced in their immigrant lives and build on the hopes and opportunities that it offered. The sections below elaborate how parents navigate these spaces as they engaged in parenting.

Western Massachusetts: A New Homeland as a Safe Refuge with Supports and Opportunities

As a place Western Massachusetts has offered parents with good quality of living and parenting experiences. Its liberal and progressive nature, people from diverse cultural background, and formal and informal parenting support networking system have made it a favorite place for parents to stay here and raise their children. However, there were also anxiety of compromising their own cultural and skepticism in few parents on the true potential of the place to promote multicultural interaction and appreciation. The following sub-sections provide insights on how Bangladeshi parents viewed Western Massachusetts as a place for living and how they navigated this space as they engaged in parenting.

Embracing Liberal and Progressive Nature of the Place

Most parents considered the prime reason for them to want to stay in Western Massachusetts is its liberal nature. Unlike many other parts in the U.S. the liberal and accepting nature of Western Massachusetts has made it a favorite parenting site for them. In Pushpita's words,

The number one reason why we shy away from moving because I don't think we will find a place like more liberal and more suited to us than Massachusetts.... We don't want to move to somewhere our daughter is always the odd one and being teased.

Western Massachusetts in general, and the towns and neighborhoods parents live in particular, are well-educated liberal places with a reputation of being spaces where progressive thinking are encouraged. Several good quality liberal arts colleges promote a culture of openness, respect and welcomes peoples from different nations and cultures of

the world. Parents highly appreciated these places as very good ones for their living and raising kids. Almost all the parents opined that they can hardly imagine any better place than this where they can lead a respectful life and raise their kids with the environment and resources they need. In particular, one of the biggest concerns for Bangladeshi parents in the U.S. are the fear of being discriminated because of religious and racial identities. Parents felt Western Massachusetts is comparatively a safer place where they rarely face bias or discrimination because of their religion and race. In fact, during the Presidential Campaign and election in 2016, there was wide-spread fear among Bangladeshi parents living in different parts of the USA. This news of fears was shared in leading newspapers and electronic media in Bangladesh. My friends living in many other parts of the U.S. also shared the same fear with me in personal communications. However, the interviews with the parents living in Western Massachusetts revealed that amid this widespread fearful environment, parents felt relatively safe as they were staying here and found refuge in the place and its people. They believed they will not likely face any such discrimination and if any such religious and racial discrimination happens, there will be strong protests and many people will join the protest in solidarity of immigrants. Yasmin stressed, “This place is our biggest hope [against discrimination]. We feel safe here as Muslims. People are nice and support us. My friends here try so that we do not feel alienated (Translated)”. This sense of safety, security and belongingness has made Western Massachusetts a place which parents can call homeland and raise their kids with relative safety. Because of the nature of this space the ideoscape and ethnoscape (Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2002) Western Massachusetts provides, it did not create disjuncture among parents; rather helped created interconnection and sense of belonging.

Building on the Opportunity of Diverse and Multicultural Living

Back in Bangladesh, the society is mostly homogeneous in terms of cultural, religious, language and racial identities. But in Western Massachusetts there are more diversity and multicultural presence. Parents highly valued the opportunity of living in a multicultural environment that Western Massachusetts offers. While many neighborhoods in Western Massachusetts is still white dominated, the places Bangladeshi parents and their children lived and went for work or study, were more diverse and multicultural. They believed such an environment has multiple benefits. Many parents reported that they are open for themselves and for their children to embrace the diverse cultural aspects and identities of this globalized multicultural environment, but with a stress that Bengali values and religious values are not forgotten. The benefit parents find for themselves and their children include the opportunity to interact with different people and their culture. Parents themselves grew up in a Bengali dominant culture where they had very little or no opportunity to interact with people from other places and countries. So, the opportunity be able to get to know other people and culture are very valuable for them. As Yasmin stated, “I was one kind of human being in Bangladesh, I have become a different being after coming here. I have seen many things, mixed with many people, learnt many things from them (Translated)”. She further explained how she has learnt the life style and cuisine of other cultural people like Pakistanis and Spanish. Similar opinion is echoed in conversation with Lopa as well: “When we grew up we only knew about Bangladesh. And now she [daughter] knows many countries, knows many things. She will know more as she will grow up...her mentality will be broadened (Translated)”. She further hoped that such exposure and interaction with friends from different culture

would prevent her from being racially biased and teach her to respect all culture. Lopa further added that the highly educated and culturally literate and sensible people from different countries that are living in her neighborhood would help develop a multicultural understanding in her daughter. She was skeptic that she would get such a nice multicultural environment anywhere else. Thus, the ethnoscape (Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2002) Western Massachusetts offered provided parents with opportunities to connect to people around the globe and create hybrid and evolving identities as suggested by Bhabha and Hall.

Parents also found practical values in living in a multicultural environment. The world is growing increasingly competitive day by day and business are crossing boundaries of nations. In such environment ability to know and appreciate different culture, develop network and communication with people from different cultural background is crucial. Sabbir considered such environment better for his daughter in the long run as he opined, “Of course. She will meet more diverse people. I think, it is important for new generation because the world is getting diverse. It's not one country any more (Translated)”. Avijit believed social network skills is instrumental to success in the current globalized competitive environment. He stressed that his daughter has an edge because she lives in a multicultural environment. With the world changing rapidly and people from different culture living close more than ever, when their children will reach adulthood their work environment, culture, life style will be more multicultural. Avijit thought Western Massachusetts as definitely a better place for his daughter’s development on multicultural awareness than living in a large Bangladeshi community. He also highlighted that places like Western Massachusetts is good for learning white

American culture which is still the most dominant in the USA. Living in Western Massachusetts would give her daughter a better chance to adapt better in future. In his words, “If she lives in this place [Western Massachusetts], she has more chance to embrace American culture. To me it is more advantageous for her adapt to American culture if she wants to live in America (Translated)”. Avijit was afraid, if otherwise happens, her daughter might become an outlier, feel alienated, or struggle to connect with American culture.

Using Good Multicultural Parenting Network

Parents noted that Western Massachusetts has good informal multicultural parenting support network. Again, the idea of ethnoscape (Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2002) comes into play in this regard, but in a manner that creates interconnection, not disjuncture. Parents have benefited from informally organized child-rearing activities such as play dates. Many Bangladeshi parents with young kids engage their children in play dates with children from other culture. Often, children choose their friends or playmates and parents get together to provide playing space for children. Sometimes, parents get to know other parents through work or study and if they have children similar age, they proactively arrange play dates. This play dates help parents from different culture know one another’s culture, life style, and parenting style. This opportunity increases parents’ knowledge and openness about other culture and helps develop appreciation. For example, Dilruba mentioned that her children often engage in play dates with other children, which, in turn, helped Dilruba and Omar make new friends and know their friends’ culture. Dilruba further added that sometimes it serves as a chain of

networks where they learned about other parents from their playdate parents. In few occasions, they play date relation has turned into family friendship where they received invitation for family parties such as in Christmas, thanksgiving. These attendances helped them know their friends' other family members and understand their culture deeper. Omar mentioned that friendship with few of his very good friends in the U.S. has actually started with play dates and other child-rearing activities. He now has a very good friend from Turkey who has eventually returned there, but they are well connected over phone. Another friend is an U.S. born, with whom they often do play dates, home parties, and hiking. So, Omar thought, in this globalized immigration context, parenting has given him a space to make new friends and learn about them better. Besides, parents also seek informational support from people from other culture. In general, they seek for information support on available resources or opportunities of schooling and education as Omar elaborated,

Information is important. If you know the information, you can do many things. If I speak about them [parenting of the children], one of our neighbor's [name omitted] both children have moved to X school [name omitted] to Y school [name omitted]. I have gotten some idea from her about the scenario of the Y school....Then I have a Chinese friend [name omitted]; he has given me some idea about day care system. Another parent's [name omitted] daughter goes to day care with my daughter. I have just spoken to her to share some idea about the classroom. This is actually information sharing (Translated).

Modelling for Multicultural Parenting

Another way parents found that their neighborhood helped bring people closer is by observing other parents and modelling their parenting behavior as appropriate. Western Massachusetts' diverse ethnoscape and ideoscape (Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2002) provided them the opportunity to connect to different people and observe different

cultural ways and ideas of parenting. Parents found that often unplanned, spontaneous observations of parenting from other culture has helped them learn about different parenting style and think alternatively about their own parenting style. Parents thought, globalization has created an opportunity where people from different culture live in proximity and this proximity helps them learn about others which often turn to friendship or getting to know the person. They opined that many neighborhoods in Western Massachusetts have been very good places for parents to learn from one another through multicultural modelling for parenting. For example, Reza used to take his daughter to a park where he observed other parents and what they do on different child-rearing situations or dilemmas. For instance, how the parents talk with their child, manage when the child is crying or get hurt or demanding something that the parents do not want to give. Reza thought of the practices done by parents from other culture and reflected on his own practice. He found that this reflection process was helpful for him not to be overprotective about his daughter and promoted independence in her. Similar view was shared by Lopa. She thought because of the multi-cultural nature of the place she lives in she was able to see different parenting style on same child-rearing issues and decide what might be helpful for her. For example, she was able to see and compare between disciplining children by white American mothers and Chinese mothers. She explored internet to learn about different parenting styles across the globe. But the opportunity to directly observe the parenting style enabled Lopa to get some hands-on experience and modelling. She later tried some of the styles herself on her daughter and tested whether it made sense on her own home and cultural context. As Lopa shared, “I can see closely and learn...I think globalization is positive from this perspective (Translated)”.

Similarly, Pushpita also asserted that the opportunity to see parenting style and modeling it helped her amalgamate her own parenting. She said, “yes, I think it [globalized, multicultural environment of Western Massachusetts] influences. Our parenting is amalgamation of our and other culture”. She tried to carefully understand what parenting style from other culture made sense for her and what might be too difficult or out of context for her. She then tried the practice at home and accepted, rejected or modified it. For example, she thought it was helpful for her to see how White American parents try to avoid directly saying ‘No’ to their children unless it was very necessary; rather they tried to provide explanation before giving a direction. Pushpita thought Bangladeshi parenting style is sometimes directive without explanation and learning from American parents might be helpful in this instance. Directly seeing the behavior helped her learn how they engage with their children. Pushpita tried it at home and thought it worked. On the other hand, she found the American sleep training such as teaching the children sleep in her own separate bed or crib was too stressful for her when she tried it on her daughter. She thought her children will eventually learn to sleep independently and separately when they grow up, as Pushpita learned herself to do it when she as an older child. She also thought it is crucial to let her children co-sleep with her at young age to develop attachment. So, she tried to follow her own cultural norm and let her daughter co-sleep with her. So, Pushpita thought some of the parenting style from other culture worked, some did not. But globalization gave her the opportunity to see, model and test them in her own context. Thus, they developed an understanding about other culture, their parenting and their contextualized meaning making. These interactions promoted the development of hybrid identities (Bhabha, 1994) among

parents as they created new form of parenting practices by bringing together the child-rearing practices of Bangladeshi culture and other cultures. Their parenting was not fixed; rather was fluid and evolving which lend support to Hall's idea of cultural identity. But the amalgamation they did was based on intention and purpose as opposed to randomly accepting any changes.

Accessing Good Institutional Support for Parenting

Some parents felt that Western Massachusetts has stronger local institutional and community support network for parenting than many other parts of the USA. There are very good family centers and resourceful libraries for children. This place also hosts many programs and events for children where they can learn and enjoy and mingle with people from different culture. Omar certified the strong family center support in Western Massachusetts as crucial for his and his children's transition,

I tried to take [children] everyday [in family center]. This was a great help in my transition. And Children's socialization, communication, his [son's] interruption, he used to live in a join family in Bangladesh, here he is in a solo [family] environment, the ice breaker he needed, he got this help there [in family center] (Translated).

The supports like presence of an accessible family center, particularly in periods when parents were transitioning to the new cultural environment and were not able to afford day care, was an excellent support for their families. Similarly, Lopa mentioned that family center was instrumental for her daughter's socialization and an excellent source of learning for her children to know and learn about children from different countries and their culture. She further mentioned about a Women organization of which she is a member of. She used to take her daughter there and other mothers also brought

their children. Thus, she was able to find a place to socialize as a parent and her daughter could make some attachments with other children. Nandini also pointed at other support systems that helps children and parents socialize, "...I know that there are several community and organizations like the library... places where parent and children get together and learn about each other".

Creating a Sense of Community with Other Bangladeshi families

Although urban neighborhood in Bangladesh is becoming more separate, parents still feel the communal life and neighborhood is still strong there. For Bangladeshi parents, other Bangladeshis scattered in Western Massachusetts and in neighboring Connecticut served as the community. The Bangladeshi community served three major purpose for Bangladeshi parents. First, they serve as the role model for Bangladeshi cultural continuity. In Towhid's words,

Community is poor here in the U.S. People are busy with themselves. But we have some Bangladeshis here. They serve as our community and help us maintain our culture. They also have children similar to my children's age. So, my children can make friends with them.

Lopa mentioned when they were young they learned about Bangladeshi culture, values and norms by watching other family members and neighbors. But here in the U.S. their children lack it very much. So, she tries to take them to other Bangladeshi families so that her daughter can watch and interact with them to learn Bangladeshi culture. Omar noted that his son who was brought up in Bangladesh for two and half years before he came to the U.S. He was brought up in a Bangladeshi culture and can speak Bangla. When he first came here, he felt very lonely. So, when Omar took him to any Bangladeshi get together or gathering, his son used to get very happy and excited. Omar

though this visualization and seeing Bangladeshis exercising their culture was important for him to feel integrated with this society and maintain his Bangladeshi heritage. If he was not able to interact with these Bangladeshi families and children, Omar afraid, he would have lost connection with his origin.

Beside regular visits to Bangladeshi families in Western Massachusetts, parents tried to take their children to community events or cultural events that celebrate Bangladeshi culture. Attending such events promote the practice Bengali cultural identity. It is difficult to explain what Bengali cultural events and festivals all about are and how they look like without presenting a model of it. Therefore, attending such events give children a visible model that helps them anchor with Bengali and religious culture. The major programs parents take their children are Eid-ul-Adha and Eid-ul-Fitr as religious festivals and Bengali New Year, International Mother Language Day, Independence Day and Victory Day of Bangladesh that celebrate Bengali culture, history and language. Children enjoy attending the programs as Laila asserted, “I attend Eid, Bengali wedding, Bengali New Year. In Pohela Boishakh [Bengali New Year] we can meet everyone [in the Bangladeshi community] and in Eid we get gifts. That’s why I like these programs most”. Besides, such events help parents get some respite and reconnect themselves with their root. But Parents are always concerned children will lose their Bengali and religious identity as they attend schools and mix with friends. So, they hope attending such events would at least help keep a tie to the children to their root. Lopa asserted,

She [daughter] is very little but whenever there is a chance I take her [to Bangladeshi cultural events] so that she can relate later on. What this event is about, why this event happened, what are the cultural backgrounds. So I want her to know about her culture. I think it's very important because someone’s culture

is deep it's very deep and rooted. I think she needs to have a root and she needs to learn more diversity. But first she needs to be rooted in her own culture (Translated).

While Lopa's child is young, Ishrat's son is in his adolescence. She is more concerned that her son may gradually loose ties to Bengali culture. Her expectation is low at she will be happy if her son is at least aware of his root.

I: why do you take him to such events? Just for enjoyment or is there any other purposes?

Ishrat: He has to have some ties to Bangladesh at least. [So that he knows] what is Bangladeshi culture. We get together on special days, what is the custom, how do we do it. At least he needs to have an idea so that he remembers his parents are Bangladeshi. He is also Bangladeshi in a sense (Translated).

Second, the Bangladeshi communities provide a role model for children's future academic and career aspirations. Bangladeshi parents closely observe children of other Bangladeshi parents and if someone does good in academic life and career, present them as role models to their children. For example, parents who has adolescent children, try to present a Bangladeshi role model who has gone to a good college or gotten a nice job as role models to their children with the expectation that they will follow the role model, talk to him or her to get some advice.

Third, parents seek advice from other Bangladeshi parents on parenting. For parents with young children, the advice seeking often includes the topics of day to day parenting guideline on feeding, sleeping, behavior control, community parenting resources, day care and schooling options. Sometimes, parents seek advice from other Bangladeshi families on how to navigate different cultural norms of Bangladesh and the U.S. and what worked for them and what did not. Parents with adolescent children often seek advice on college education and career, friend making and concerns on adolescent

development such as physical and psychological development, and on how to prevent serious concerns such as bad company or substance abuse. Senior or elderly Bangladeshi community leaders often serve as important source for major life decisions such as children's education, career or marriage.

These findings indicate that while Bangladeshi parents are keen on capitalizing the benefits Western Massachusetts offered, they were also looking for ways to keep connected to Bangladesh and its culture. They extended their ethnoscape (Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2002) by including Bangladeshis to continue their ancestral land's culture. These findings are consistent to other family research on Bangladeshi diaspora that stress on their urge to maintain cultural continuity (for example, Alam, 2013; Barn, 2006; Begum & Khondaker, 2008; Bose, 2014; Rahman, 2014).

Multicultural Interaction, but at a Selective and Shallow Level

Although parents agreed that Western Massachusetts provided opportunity for more multicultural interaction and understanding, some parents were skeptic about its true potential. They saw the globalized multicultural nature as a mixed or contradictory force that can bring people closer and pull them apart at the same time. Dilruba shed light on how the multicultural nature of Western Massachusetts bring people closer but do so in a selective way. She thought that this place does not bring all people closer, rather Bangladeshi parents constantly seek other people who have similar language, religious, cultural backgrounds. Therefore, Bangladeshi parents often connect with other people from Indian sub-continent such as from India and Pakistan and from few Asian nations, but perhaps do not necessarily interact that much with people from other culture. So, she

thought the globalized and multicultural nature of the place provides opportunity for parents to seek for more similarities, but not embracing and getting close to different culture.

Reza opined that although globalization may create opportunities to bring parents from diverse cultural background closer, the interaction mostly happens at a shallow level and often does not go as deep as needed to develop a real closeness and appreciation among different culture. He thought it may create some opportunities at shallow level such as attending different cultural events, but at a deeper level it is still difficult to “know them well or appreciate them well”. He further highlighted that parent may go to an event such as children’s friend’s birthday party or arrange play dates for children, but often this does not go much further than that. Ultimately people are “confined and more comfortable within their own cultural group and their access and mobility is much higher there”. He thought as minorities and first-generation immigrants, Bangladeshi parents prefer to live within their communities “in order to maintain their group identity”.

Ishrat stressed that language difference plays a big role in sustaining the distance among immigrants and parents from different culture. While most Bangladeshi parents are comfortable in functional English, they still prefer to speak in Bangla and look for other Bangla speaking people when making friends. Despite the fact Ishrat is living in the U.S. and in Western Massachusetts for many years, still her first criteria for looking for friends is the language similarity. She thought other first-generation immigrant parents might feel the same. Although Ishrat took her son for playdates with few English-speaking American families, she thought language barrier, specifically cultural aspects of the languages and the nuances of languages beyond the regular functional communicative

English played a role and prevented her from being engaged in conversation that could really help know one another's culture. She stated, "I always found comfort in 'desi'⁴ people. I think because of the language (Translated)". Like Ishrat, Zarifa also confirmed that her communication and most of the Bangladeshi parents' communication are limited to Bangladeshis and some Indian sub-continental friends except few colleagues from workplace. She further highlighted that her neighbors are white Americans and they are living in the same neighborhood for several years, but their communication with neighbors rarely goes beyond formal and courteous talks and gestures. So, she thought it did not really matter that her family was living close to families from other culture, particularly white Americans as she said, "The cultural distance prevailed (Translated)". In contrast to what was discussed in previous sub-sections, these experiences shared by parents indicate that the ethnoscape and ideoscape (Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2002) Western Massachusetts offered did not necessarily ended up creating interconnection with people from all the cultures that live in the space; rather it was selective, at a shallow level and created disjuncture also.

Challenges of Maintaining Cultural Continuity

Given all the benefits parents see of living in a multicultural place like Western Massachusetts, they prefer their Bengali and religious identities not to be forgotten. One down side of parenting in Western Massachusetts that parents mentioned is its low number of Bangladeshis. Moreover, the Bangladeshis do not often live in close proximities, which they thought made it difficult for them to maintain cultural continuity.

⁴ Typically used to refer to people originated from countries in Indian sub-continent, such as Bangladesh, India and Pakistan.

Although they are in contact over phone, they usually meet on occasions such as family invitations or cultural events or festival celebrations. Bangladeshi parents interact with people from other culture more and the children go to schools where there are very few, if any, Bangladeshi students. So, although Bangladeshi parents and families provide support on cultural modelling, it is very sporadic and not on a regular basis. This, parents found, a big challenge for ensuring cultural continuity. Particularly there are few areas they are concerned about. One is the relational aspect of Bengali collective culture and respect for parents and the other is religious values. Bangladeshi parents, as they see white American culture, finds it difficult to provide a model the way they want their children to show respect for parents and elders. Ishrat stated,

What we understand by family value...(inaudible) parents do not get much importance in the U.S. Parents are a big deal – I do not think this is seriously taught here. To us, parents are above all, very respectable. So, I want my son develops this value. Parents and relatives come first. (Translated).

It is to be noted that when parents talked about the benefits of multicultural environment, they provided reference of different culture, not only white Americans. In fact, their example of interacting with white American friends is perhaps lower than people from other culture. So, there might be a selection of with whom parents interact more. But when they show concern of preserving their cultural continuity, they gave example of and compared their culture with white American culture and how they and their children should try to preserve their own culture. So, in their mind White American culture is the dominant culture of America and this serves as a frame of reference. Getting back to the previous point, few parents also preferred that their children should act according to the religious codes. While they are open to accepting the culture, they prefer that their children do use their religious values as a compass to decide what to

accept and what not to accept as Towhid stated, “Here our children are exposed to different cultures and values. They should not adopt fully to them....Their manner, their life should be guided by Islam and informed knowledge by it (Translated)”.

Parents also found it challenging how to teach children to navigate the complex multicultural environment while maintaining their own culture. While parents were open to new cultural learning, but they also preferred that children should be able to differentiate between their own culture and other culture and take what is appropriate for her. Parents did not feel they have the adequate knowledge on how to train young children to navigate this complex multicultural environment. Dilruba noted,

It [navigating the multicultural environment] seems challenging, because since they [children] are young, they are learning what they are seeing. Multicultural, suppose, it may be less difficult for me because I am an adult, I can differentiate if I see many culture, I can decide what is not appropriate for me, which is very difficult for a child to decide (Translated).

Omar further elaborated the issue that living in a multicultural environment required the balancing between non-judgmental and at the same being able to embrace the value that is appropriate for someone’s own context. Teaching children to balance this complex demand is a challenge as Omar stated,

“We are living in a diversified society. So, child caring seems challenging to me because there is no right or wrong in practicing these cultures. Because everyone’s value is right from their perspective. I wish my children can pick what is appropriate for her and hold their own culture at the same time (Translated).

Parents further feared that over the generations children can forget their identity completely and thus their root and identity as Bengali can be entirely lost. Parents believed none is ready to melt, but with few generation where root of first generation parents will be gradually lost, third or fourth generation may completely lose their

identity as Bengali. This is one reason parents remain vigilant about teaching their children about their Bengali root and culture. Pushpita elaborated on this,

....and in terms of culture, obviously we do our best that she [daughter] knows where her roots are. And hopefully she will continue [to] develop that. Because, she would not forget that she is Bengali, but her kids will. And their kids will and then soon no one will know where they came from. So, I know it's going to be very difficult, not going to be easier. And I am sure her child will be broken many times when she will be like, I am an American, I am not Bengali. Why are you asking me to do this? I am sure I will hear this from my daughter and grand daughter. So, hopefully we will be able to at least let her [daughter] be aware that, this is your culture, this is some of the values, we grow up with.

The discussions in this sub-section provide a contrast to the interconnecting argument presented in several previous sub-sections. It was challenging for parents to connect with Bangladeshi people and its culture because of their low presence in Western Massachusetts. Thus, the ethnoscape (Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2002) promoted a disjunctured experience for parents. However, parents kept doing what they could do to ensure they remain in touch with Bangladeshis in Western Massachusetts. Besides, they connected with other important spaces in their lives to maintain continuity that will be discussed in later sections.

Absence of a Sense of Neighborhood

The other downside of living in Western Massachusetts is an absence of sense of neighborhood. Many parents have been living in the same neighborhood for years but have not made any connection with their neighbors. It is limited to formal hi and hellos. The advantage of living in Bangladesh or in New York is there is a sense of belonging with neighbors and families. Pushpita mentioned in Bangladesh there was a strong tie between neighbors, whereas in Western Massachusetts, neighborhood ties are almost

absent. Pushpita mentioned that here in Western Massachusetts she made friends through her children's school, they sometimes hang around. But they are not neighbors. In Bangladesh, children used to make good friends with neighbors' children, they used to play together a lot. So, a sense of neighborhood living was there among children which is absent here.

New York: A Homeland in a Foreign Land

Besides Western Massachusetts, nearby large cities such as New York and its Bengali population claimed a special place in Bangladeshi parents' lives and child-rearing experiences. Parents compared between living in large cities such as New York and small towns in Western Massachusetts as sites for cultural reproduction vs cultural diversity. In large cities like New York, and Los Angeles there are large Bangladeshi ethnic enclaves where many Bangladeshi families live in a neighborhood. Walking in these neighborhoods, someone can see the signature of Bangladeshi culture everywhere. People speak in Bangla, wear Bangladeshi dress, buy Bangladeshi foods and household items for their regular use. They engage in 'adda'⁵ in a restaurant like Bangladeshis do in Bangladesh. There are regular visits to neighbors who are often Bangladeshis. One can enjoy and celebrate Bangladeshi culture, festivals and life style. For parents, it is a reunion with their homeland in a foreign land. Zarifa expressed her joy as she thought about New York, "We can see many Bengali faces, can speak [in Bangla]. You feel peace, isn't it? There is Bengali culture (Translated)". Parenting in such a context often resembles parenting in Bangladesh in many ways. The schools where children of Bangladeshis in New York go to often has a high number of Bangladeshi students. So, it

⁵ Informal friendly gathering and chatting

is microcosm of Bangladesh within a larger macrocosm of USA. Although there are people from many nationalities and culture live in large cities, parents felt the strong presence of Bangladeshi community lets Bangladeshi residents continue their own culture. Therefore, there is perhaps not as much direct communication among people from different culture as one might expect.

Whenever possible, particularly on holidays, cultural or religious festivals or occasions, parents tried to take their children to relatives or friends places in New York. To them, this was a way to compensate for the lack of being able to maintain cultural continuity in Western Massachusetts. These are also the places where parents can connect themselves with their friends and relatives and to their own country and culture. Large cities like New York gives parents opportunity to provide modelling opportunities for their children to observe and practice religious and cultural practices. In Western Massachusetts it is not easy to find cultural and religious modelling opportunities on a regular basis. Dilruba explained that since in Western Massachusetts Bengali and Islamic community is small, her children mostly rely on their parents to observe and practice Bengali and Islamic religious norms and guidelines. For instance, Dilruba mentioned, schools remain closed in New York on Eid. There are big festivals and celebrations on Bengali New Year Day. So, children directly observe these and learn. Besides, they see the religious and cultural practices on a daily basis, at home, in neighborhood, and in the mosque. She elaborated,

If we simply talk about first day of Boishakh [Bengali New Year], this is a big celebration in our country. But there is no scope [to do it] here [in Western Massachusetts] unless you do something family-oriented. I mean there are some Bengali families here, so together we can do something. But if you go to New York, there are many cultural events for this [Bengali New Year] only. So, this is of course a factor (Translated).

Lopa also hold similar view that in large cities children have good opportunities for observing and following cultural modelling. She further added that there are schools in cities like New York where children can learn Bangla language, songs, recitations, and dances. Many parents take their children for such lessons, whereas in Western Massachusetts there is no such cultural schooling opportunities. Even, if she wants to say prayer, Lopa has to drive few hours to reach to the nearest prayer house, whereas in New York there are several mosques and temples. So prayer houses are accessible on a regular basis. Like Lopa, Omar also mentioned that it is easier to maintain religious identity in large cities like New York. He mentioned that if his daughter wears hijab, she may have dilemma in mind since there are no other many women who wears hijab near her living place. It is not that people will humiliate her about it, but she may feel uneasy sometimes. But in large cities where there are many Bangladeshis, there are a good number of women wearing hijab. So, she would not feel uncomfortable or alienated. Thus New York would give her a sense of self, a sense of her homeland, and a sense of attachment. The sense of cultural continuity parents looked for in New York lends support to findings for several family researches that highlight cultural continuity (for example, Espiritu, 2003, Falicov, 2005; Hughes, et al., 2006; Sua´rez-Orozco & Sua´rez-Orozco, 2001; Wolf, 1997; Yearwood, 2001). Research on Bangladeshi immigrant families also highlight the idea of cultural continuity (for example, Alam, 2013; Barn, 2006; Begum & Khondaker, 2008; Bose, 2014; Rahman, 2014). The ethnoscape and ideoscape (Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2002) Bangladeshi communities in New York provide help parents find a home away of home. But they do not tie themselves with New York by divorcing the connection to Western Massachusetts; rather they connect to both the

places and their people to maximize cultural benefits these places offer. Thus, they interconnect with two spaces with different nature to serve different purposes of continuity and change and create a holistic existence for them and their family.

Connection to Bangladesh: The Anchor, the Root

The third, and perhaps the most important space that shaped Bangladeshi parents' existence and identity is their own homeland, Bangladesh. Although living more than 8,000 miles away, Bangladesh sustains in parents' imagination and thought more than anything. They are very much anchored to Bangladesh and they try to make sure they and their children remain strongly connected to their root. Due to the enhanced communication and technological advancement, parents can keep contact with Bangladesh more than before. There are following strategies that parents use to make sure they and their children remain in touch with Bangladesh.

Grandparents as Cultural Agents

Grandparents, particularly of young children, provide very crucial supports in parents' child-rearing and maintaining cultural continuity. Grandparents either live permanently with their children in the U.S., or parents fly them in temporarily for child care, particularly in the early ages of the children. Since Bangladeshi families have limited family support in Western Massachusetts compared to what they could enjoy in Bangladesh, grandparents play an important role in compensating for that. Grandparents are important parts of the ethnoscape as well as ideoscape (Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2002) for Bangladeshi immigrant parents in Western Massachusetts. In Bangladesh,

grandparents, aunts, and other key family members play an instrumental role in helping out parents in child-rearing. Child care is often a more collective effort than a sole enterprise of parents as Yasmin elaborated,

So I think parenting here is seen as sole responsibility of two parents like father and mother mainly. Back home I think it's obviously the main duty on the parents as well. But I feel it's also lot of responsibility with grandparents and then my cousins, my husband's siblings and from immediate families we have. So there are a lot of relationships who are close. They also take part in the parenting. I think some way and for example even the neighbors.

Grandparents provided several supports. They helped in daily household chores and basic child-care supports. However, it is important to note that, it is mostly grandmothers, not grandfathers, who provide basic child-rearing supports. Grandfathers mostly provide company and engage in play with their grandchildren. So, there is a gender dimension to child-rearing. Grandparents also played an important role in developing attachment with the child. In absence of parents, grandparents often acted as primary caregiver and developed a strong sense of bondage with their grandchildren. More importantly, grandparents also served the role of cultural agents. They taught their children how to speak Bangla. They also taught them about Bangladesh, its culture, its manners and values. How to behave with elders and adults, how to greet, how to develop a habit of Bangladeshi food cuisine, developing religious practice, teaching about Bengali stories, rhymes and festivals-these are some examples through which grandparents try to develop children's identity as Bengali. Rahat summarizes his view of her parents' role of grandparents, "of course, they [grandparents] bring their identity to do it [child-rearing]. They agree with our culture [Bengali culture], they like it, try to promote them as well". Similar findings were noted in several other family research such as Da (2003), Lie

(2010) and Xie and Xia (2011) where grandparents played important roles for providing household support and cultural continuity in the family.

However, engaging with grandparents while in the USA to draw a boundary on child-rearing is a slippery ground. Parents often found it difficult to engage with their own parents in terms of cultural practices in child-rearing. Parents wanted to make a balance between U.S. cultural norms and Bengali cultural norms for child-rearing, whereas grandparents often prefer to do Bengali cultural practices only. This is potentially an area of discomfort where parents had to navigate. Culturally, parents themselves are expected not to argue with their elders, particularly with parents and teachers. So, they find it difficult to tell their own parents when they did not want a certain way of child-rearing practice with their own children. For example, Pushpita's mother-in-law is reluctant to put her granddaughter in a crib or separate room. She shared her bed with all her children when raised them and she thought Pushpita and her husband should also do the same. She thought sharing the bed is essential to develop attachment between parents and children. Letting them sleep in a different bed or room in such a young age is rude and prioritizing parents' own individualities than children's attachment needs. She constantly requested her son and Pushpita not to let their child sleep separate of them. When these types of issues arise, parents try to respect grandparents' opinion as much as possible, but if they have to ignore grandparents' suggestions they do so very politely and without necessarily engaging in a debate or argument. Thus Bangladeshi parents try to find a balance between both the U.S. and Bangladeshi culture. At one hand, they are keen on embracing the cultural aspects of the U.S. that are beneficial for them, on the other hand grandparents provide important support to maintain cultural continuity

in the family. While there are tensions, parents try to balance them and interconnect both the culture to create a hybrid and negotiated evolving identities for them and their children. Thus, the findings lend support to Bhabha (1994) and Hall's (1990) ideas of identities.

Connecting with Families in Bangladesh

While at one hand technology created disjuncture, it also created the opportunity to connect parents with their own culture. The technoscape (Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2002) has provided opportunities to maintain a virtual ethnoscape for parents by connecting with them using technology. For example, technology aided parents in maintaining cultural continuity and keeping in touch with their friends and families in Bangladesh. Although parents were concerned about their children's use of technology, it became a great aid in keeping contact with relatives in Bangladesh or living far away. Applications such as Viber, Messenger, skype have helped significantly not only to talk to close relatives and friends, but also enabled parents and their children to see their relatives and friends on live video chat. This helped to develop emotional bonding between their children and family members. Given the fact that visiting friends and families is difficult and children do not get to meet them in years, technology is helping to a great extent. Laila expressed, "I love talking to my grandfather in viber. He gets very happy when he sees us. I visit him only once in several years, but I see him almost every day in viber".

Besides, keeping contact with friends and relatives, some Bangladeshi parents informed that technology has given them opportunity to seek advice on parenting from

their relatives in Bangladesh. As clear from Lopa's statement parenting is a deeply culturally rooted practice, and they prefer to maintain cultural continuity using the advantage of technology,

Lopa: Yes, I think I used to talk to my mother for every day almost and whenever there is something.... And there are other Bangladeshi women there. Sometimes I call her and ask for like what happened, what should I do? But I found that I take more advice from Bangladeshi people....

I: So, why do you take advice from Bangladeshis mostly? Is there a reason? I mean you do not have time or you just feel culturally more inclined?

Lopa: I feel culturally more inclined to them [Bangladeshi people]. And I think child rearing is so much about cultural things. If it's something about a dress or something maybe I would ask someone else maybe, if it's about dress Western I can ask someone. But child rearing I think is deep rooted in culture.

Thus, unlike creating disjuncture through technoscape as suggested by Appadurai (1990, 1996, 2002), technology also created opportunity to interconnect both Bangladeshi and U.S. culture and to benefit from both of them.

Ties through Language

Bangladeshi parents put high importance on ensuring that their children use Bangla in their regular conversation at home and in Bangladeshi community. Many parents maintained a policy that their children should speak Bangla at home and with relatives. They also tried to teach their children reading and listening skills of Bangla so that they can do conversation. They took their children to different community and cultural events celebrating Bangladeshi culture so that children can have opportunity to know and practice Bangla in the Bangladeshi community. Parents also took their children to other Bangladeshi families around in order for their children to converse in Bangla. Moreover, some parents also teach them their regional dialects of Bangla to make sure

children not only learn standard format of Bangla, but also keep in touch with their local Bengali dialects and maintain ties with their relatives back in Bangladesh,

Yasmin: Both of my son and daughter can speak Bangla. My daughter is not fully proficient yet, but my son understands. I have taught my son our local dialect as well.

I: So, your son can understand both standard Bangla and the Feni dialect of it?

Yasmin: yes, he understands.

I: So, at home you mostly use the Feni dialect?

Yasmin: No, when we talk at home we use standard Bangla. I talk to them the way I am talking right now. But when his aunts or other relatives come, then we talk in Feni dialect.

These findings support the findings from several other researches that highlight cultural continuity through language (for example, Hughes et al, 2006; Zimmerman et al, 1996). However, parents commonly faced several issues in convincing their children to use Bangla. First, they had to limit the exercise of Bangla in listening and speaking only. They could not teach their child to develop reading or writing skills in Bangla. They had to accept the reality that their children will develop partial Bangla language skills. Parents also faced the fact that children become less and less interested in using in Bangla as they grow. Particularly with schooling, their interest in Bangla decreases significantly. It becomes difficult for them to convince their child even to speak Bangla at home, let alone read or write. The following conversation provides a scenario on the challenges,

I: Can she [Lopa's daughter] write Bangla, or just speaks?

Lopa: We have brought many books from Bangladesh but was unable to teach her. The main problem is she is not interested in writing Bangla. She is interested in writing in English.

Visit to Bangladesh

Although it does not happen very frequently, parents try to take their children to Bangladesh. Grandparents and relatives eagerly wait to see their families, particularly grandparents miss their grandchildren very much. This is one big reason why parents take their children to Bangladesh. Children also enjoy the opportunity to connect to their cousins and grandparents there. Mishal expressed, “We go to Bangladesh in summer. I like visiting Feni [a district in Bangladesh]. My grandparents are there, cousins are also there. They become very happy if they see me (Translated)”. Besides, visiting Bangladesh gives parents an opportunity to reconnect with their homeland and its culture. Parents also expect their children to be able to physically experience Bangladesh, its nature, its daily mundane life, and cultural norms and customs. They will also enjoy the company of their cousins who live in Bangladesh. However, there are some obstacles to visit Bangladesh as Towhid asserted,

P: At least we try to go as whole family every other year so that my children can keep in touch with their root and close relatives. Our family members from Bangladesh also visit us in U.S. Actually, we try to go every year. But due to hot summer weather in Bangladesh, business, school- we cannot go every year as family. But I go at least once a year (Translated).

Some parents are also concerned of the individual lonely life in the USA, particularly when people grow old they become very lonely. Parents hope that visiting Bangladesh may help them and their children maintain a touch of collectivity and sense of attachment at their old age. Thus, by visiting Bangladesh, was one way to maintain that their key family members and friends remain parts of their changing ethnoscape (Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2002) and provided a sense of continuity.

Bangladeshi Food

Maintaining Bangladeshi cuisine at home is another way parents tried to keep their children aware and in touch of Bangladeshi culture. However, it is not always easy as children often prefer American cuisine over Bangladeshi dish. Particularly adolescent children who are used to eating American foods at school and in friend circle, often are not very interested in Bangladeshi cuisine made at home. But parents, especially the ones of young children try to maintain a Bangladeshi diet at home because they know their children are going to eat American cuisine outside of home anyway. Rahat stated,

We feed her the foods like rice, lentil that we eat. We do not make separate food for her that we do not eat so that she can enjoy and get used to with our food. She is having American dishes, she is eating pasta, but she is also eating rice, lentil and hot and spicy chicken and beef so that her food [habit] becomes diverse. She gets used to our food and appreciates other culture [cuisine] as well (Translated).

Food, as an important way to maintain cultural continuity, was mentioned in previous other researches (for example, Hughes et al., 2006; Pessar, 1995). While Bangladeshi parents preferred Bangladeshi food at home, they were also accepting to the fact they and their children will appreciate the U.S. and multicultural cuisine as well. So, it was embracing both the culture and interconnecting them, not choosing one at the cost of the other.

Chapter Summary

Three physical spaces largely constituted Bangladeshi parents' existential territory as parents. These places collectively offered a sense of belonging, a feeling of attachment and a sense of being that is not tied to a single physical space, rather transcends the boundary of singular notion of homelands and created a complex network of spaces to

create a new existence. Each place offered unique opportunities and challenges while parents mindfully navigated these spaces to redefine their existence in their immigrant lives. Parents were keen on capitalizing the potential opportunities and benefits these places offered and they tried to make intentional, mindful choices. For example, parents felt emotionally attached to Western Massachusetts as a relatively safe space for them and for their children as immigrants. The tradition of liberal and progressive thinking of the place offered parents with a space where they can feel anchored. Besides, they made intentional choices on maximizing the benefits this place offered through engaging with its diversity and multicultural environment, using the multicultural parenting networks, learning through modelling on parenting practices from families that represent diverse culture, and good institutional supports for parenting that this place offered. However, few parents felt they were only able to connect at a shallow level and their connections were largely selective to other South Asian families. They also felt a lack of sense of community and neighborhood. They compensated for it by connecting with other Bangladeshi families in and around Western Massachusetts. They also used frequent visits to nearby large cities such as New York where there are large Bangladeshi communities. While Western Massachusetts provided diversity and a change in how parents defined their identity, New York provided a sense of cultural continuity and anchor to their homeland where they were able to find a connection to Bangladesh and provide visual cultural model for their children to keep them rooted to Bangladesh. Parents further kept connected to Bangladesh using multiple intentional strategies. They used travels to visit and physical connect to Bangladesh and provide a sense for them and their children of their ancestral homeland. But they were also virtually connected to

Bangladesh through technology as phone, viber and other social media regularly. Moreover, they recreated Bangladeshi culture in Western Massachusetts by occasionally bringing in key family members such as grandparents, sustaining the practice of using Bangla language and enjoying Bangladeshi cuisine at home. Thus, they tried to mindfully use these different spaces in a manner that would reduce the feelings of disjuncture, create a more hybrid and evolving way of lives as suggested by Hall and Bhabha and maximize the benefits that these places could offer as they anchored their lives as immigrants.

Given the constraints and limitations Bangladeshi immigrant parents faced, the way they engaged with these different spaces transcends the boundary of physical spaces; rather their engagement refers to complex multidimensional interactions with these spaces. They were keen on balancing between cultural continuity and change as they interacted with these spaces. But they tried to do so with agency, intention and choice. So, to them continuity is not just a random continuity. Its continuity with intention. Similarly, cultural change is not merely a change or hybridity, it is the change with intention. They carefully navigated different physical spaces, ideoscapes, ethnoscpaes and technoscapes. By doing so they created and invented a new way of being by using their agency and choices to develop a new existential territory for them and maximize the benefits for them as immigrant parents and for their children.

CHAPTER 6

PARENTING, SCHOOLING AND DIASPORA

Children's schooling has been an important institution that shaped Bangladeshi parents' experiences in the U.S. to a great extent. Schooling of their children faced parents with both hopes and disjuncture. At one hand, the prospect of good schooling and its potential influence of strongly anchoring their children and families in the U.S. excited parents, on the other hand they faced enormous challenges as they had to learn how to navigate the cultural differences between schooling in Bangladesh and the USA. This navigation often resulted in compromising their own culture. Parents' experiences with their children's schooling included navigating the differences they felt in the teaching-learning and classroom culture in schools in the U.S. compared to Bangladeshi school culture. But the influences went far beyond the boundary of schools as it touched upon and reshaped Bangladeshi parents' experiences of the larger cultural aspects such as language, family relations, cultural and religious norms expectations and racial identities. The sections below provide discussions on the major findings as parents shared their experience of child-rearing in relation to their children's schooling.

Negotiating Differences in Classroom Culture and Teaching-learning

Parents had to negotiate several differences in classroom culture and teaching-learning between Bangladeshi education and U.S. school education. As taught in Bangladeshi school system, parents are more familiar and used to the classroom culture in Bangladesh. But their children go to U.S. schools whose classroom culture is quite different. The sub-sections below discuss the differences and how parents navigate these.

Difference in Focus on Content vs Process

One difference between the U.S. and Bangladeshi school culture is focus on content vs focus on process. In U.S. schools, more emphasis is given on the process of learning, i.e., how children learn. Teaching-learning is focused more on exploration and creativity and problem-solving. Education in the U.S. focuses more on solving real life problems and learning from real life situations. Mustafiz, whose son was schooled both in Bangladesh and the U.S. asserted that U.S. schools teach more in a practical manner, while children in Bangladesh learn in a more abstract way. Schooling is less formal, play-based and interactional in the USA. On the other hand, parents in their own childhood, were taught in a more content-based approach. In Pushpita's words,

And [I] know things have changed a lot in Bangladesh in terms of education and they are promoting the creative side more. But I don't think that's the focus yet. Here is more creativity, more about do what you want to do.

Parents, in general, found strengths in both content and process-based learning. They saw the value of learning in a more independent, problem solving-based approach. So, they encouraged the way children learn in their schools. But they also thought there is less emphasis on content in the schools their children attend in the USA. So, as parents they tried to compensate for that lacking by providing content-based teaching at home. Thus, they believed, their children will be able to benefit through both the learning models. For example, Lopa asserted that she used to do extra-teaching for her daughter at home so that she can be advanced, particularly in content areas of various subjects. She mentioned that due to Bangladeshi education culture of teaching contents, she is eager to teach her daughter more content. Besides, when she talked to her relatives back in Bangladesh, she found that their children similar to her daughter's age had higher content

knowledge. So, she felt a pressure to do extra teaching at home. She mentioned that Indian and Bangladeshi parents are very serious about their children's study and have high expectations of teaching lot of contents. But U.S. schools cannot cope up with that expectations. Therefore, they engage themselves in tutoring, bridging and coaching. Similar findings were noted in putting high academic expectations and providing extra tuition and bridging is discussed in Wu's (2011) where Chinese immigrant parents in New Zealand put high expectations of their children and provided extra tuition and bridging to help children cope up with the expectations. The findings related to the high academic expectations in this research is further discussed in the following sub-section.

Differences in Academic Expectations

An important distinction between the U.S. and Bangladeshi schooling is in academic expectation. Bangladeshi parents felt that current Bangladeshi schooling system puts high expectation on performing good academically. Although they recalled that when they were students they had also survived high academic pressure, but they thought this pressure is growing day by day due to increasingly competitive job market in Bangladesh. Besides, higher education is a status symbol in Bangladesh. Parents put lot of the energy and money to make sure their children perform good in school and get into a good college. Yasmin provided a scenario of current Bangladeshi schooling,

I can see children in Bangladesh are reading lots of books in the morning. Then going to school. After returning at 4pm, again going to teacher or coaching. I do not see any time for them to spend with parents or for themselves. But here you go to school at 8 am and you are finished by 3 pm.

Schools, as well as parents, put high focus on performing good in school examinations and achieving high in academic performances. Children must study many

subjects and attend examinations very frequently. Most of the parents thought current education system puts too much pressure on children, although they opined some pressure was good. Schools that their children attend in the U.S., on the other hand as parents perceived, have less expectation on children's academic success. While academic success is appreciated, success is defined in many other ways such as in sports, arts, crafts and leadership. Parents felt, the schools their children go to in Western Massachusetts, have resources to promote that types of successes. While parents did not want to put as much pressure on their children as Bangladeshi education system does, they thought their children's schools have lesser than expected pressure and expectation. So, they were looking for something in the middle. Parents felt that the strength of high expectation is it promotes children's learning and increasing their chance of success. Particularly, in an immigration context, they felt high expectation is helpful as they are first generation immigrants and they need to anchor well in the U.S. society through doing well academically. Bangladeshi parents saw school not just as a learning space, but as a hope for better future. The parents interviewed for this research came from relatively high education and socio-economic backgrounds in Bangladesh. While they are economically solvent in the U.S. as well, they wanted a better life for their children. Few parents mentioned that they experienced downward mobility in terms of their academic and professional growth in the U.S. and they wanted their children to thrive in the U.S. society. Education or schooling is their biggest hope. So, they have high expectation from their children and they do extra coaching and bridging at home so that their children can be ahead of the race.

Several parents mentioned that their prime reason for immigrating to the U.S. was to give their children better education and better career opportunities. So, parents dedicated significant amount of energy to ensure their children are doing good in schools. They are sending their children to schools that have good resources. Besides, education is the only hope for parents to compensate for all the difficulties they and their children face to cope with a society that has a different value, norms, language and racial background. In Parthos' words,

But they [parents] also know the difference of language, difference of culture, difference of color, social values and everything. It will be hard. The immigrant people has really difficult time to adjust with these values and all those things. So, what happened [to] most of the immigrant parent? We try to help them [children] and [reduce] the gap between school and their career. Most of the immigrant parent are doing that.

So, parents felt that they should encourage their children to concentrate most of their energies in study. But the less expectation on academic success from the school makes their job difficult. Towhid, whose children go to a middle school in the U.S., opined, "But quality of education is good in Bangladesh. There is strong academic pressure. Children learn many things and topics. Curriculum of Bangladeshi schools is good (Translated)". Ishrat further added that due to academic pressure Bangladeshi children learn better in schools in Bangladesh than immigrant Bangladeshi children in the USA.

Since parents are not very satisfied with the insufficient level of academic pressure, they do extra bridging and coaching at home to encourage their children to do better academically. Parents and elder family members become the 'teacher' at home. For example, Sabbir mentioned that all his family members try to bridge and reinforce her daughters' learning at home. Sabbir thought reinforcement was necessary and they tried

to further explain contents that her daughter learnt in school. Sabbir's father-in-law Hasib also mentioned that academic pressure is good for immigrant children to anchor them better in U.S. society. So, they have to compensate for U.S. schools' low academic pressure and expectation. He mentioned that he regularly asks about her granddaughter's study at schools. He stated,

If you ask about my granddaughter, she is still going to preschool. But still we have interest, that what she is doing [in school], how much she is studying. We try to teach her even if it is a word or two. You have responsibilities even your child goes to school (Translated).

In particular, parents felt that the quality of Math learning is not an expected level. But most parents dream of their children to become Engineers or Doctors or studying technology and business-related subjects for which good math skills is necessary. Parents felt that the U.S. school are lagging in math. Few parents mentioned that they bought advanced level Math textbooks from high performing countries in math such as Singapore and make them practice at home. So, their children are advanced at Math compared to their classmates. Reza mentioned,

We Bangladeshis, whatever happens in schools, we teach our children at home. We are making them stronger in English and Math. I used to order online to bring math books from Singapore. Their math is similar to us [Bangladesh], my son became stronger in Math. Here they [school/education board] will take an examination on grades seven and eight curriculum for assigning [math] at grade nine. Our children [Bangladeshi children] are far advanced in these tests (Translated).

Like Reza, Mustafiz also mentioned that he teaches his son regularly at home on science and math. Mustafiz himself is trained in math and accounting. He has good enough competence to teach his son middle school math and science subjects. Partho mentioned that he used to ask his sons about their study at schools, their home works and teachers' opinions on their progress on a regular basis. If he had any concern, he used to

visit the schools and talk with teachers. If he sensed any gap, he tried to bridge it by giving extra care and tutoring at home. As highly educated parents with science background, Partho was able to help his sons make up on any topics related to science they struggled. Few parents, particularly whose children were born in Bangladesh and later came to the U.S. with their parents, felt that the English teaching in the U.S. schools is not good enough for their children to cope up with their white American friends. So, they provided extra coaching on English as well. Drawing from the analytical framework of the study, these efforts made by parents can be perceived in light of Hall's cultural identity (1990) as parents constantly redefined their roles in relation to their children's schooling. They were not fixated on their conceptions of schooling, rather their ideas of schooled changed as they navigated a new cultural system and they changed their roles to adjust to the changing demands. Their identity was also hybrid as suggested by Bhabha (1994). They did not fully comply with either Bangladeshi or U.S. schooling norms and expectation, rather they attempted to draw on both cultures, appreciated the hopes and opportunities and understood the challenges, to create a newer form of identities and roles. Therefore, while their identities became more fluid and hybrid, intentional choices were made and selections were done to take it to a direction desirable to them.

Difference in Independence and Authority in Learning

Third important distinction in classroom culture is focus on independence vs focus on authority. Schools that Bangladeshi parents' children attend in the U.S. promote children's independent learning and individualized learning strategies. In Rahat's view,

Definitely they [U.S. schools] promote a lot of independence. They allow the child to interact more, to be independent more. I mean, they will give a toy, but

will not say how to play with it. They will observe how the children play with it. They have their own plan of certain things. So, they get the child to explore more and explore their own way of doing this... And I think, she [daughter] is also learning. For example, she will not let me put off her socks. That day when she came home, she put off her shoes and socks. I mean she will not let us do that. She says I am ok with that. She is learning how to express her opinion.

Independently asking questions, expressing opinion, debating with students and teachers is encouraged in U.S. schools. The individual way of learning is promoted. Another important aspect of independence is the U.S. schools put emphasis on children's aptitude. What a child is interested in are highly valued. Avijit opined,

...here [USA] if someone has a strength area, teachers try to make the child an expert in that. Students from childhood decides what s/he want to become. S/he is good in this thing, so s/he will become this. I think this does not develop in Bangladesh....So, learning is very personalized. If someone is good at anything, they [teachers] try how to make [child] better in that (Translated).

But in Bangladeshi schools, teacher is seen as an authority of his or her subject. It is assumed that s/he knows best of the subject. So, arguing or debating with the teacher is not promoted. Students are expected to show due respect to teachers and obey the teacher. In a collectivist society, individualized learning or individual independent thinking and expression is not at the center of teaching-learning strategies; rather more collective or group way of learning and accepting what the teacher says is seen as the norm of learning. In U.S. schools, students individual interest and aptitude are measured from the childhood and is promoted. There are portfolios of students which track where the students are good at and interested in. There is support system to promote that individual way of flourishing. But in Bangladeshi schools, children's entity as an individual is not focused, rather how they fit into the society as part of a collective entity is the more important goal. Parents are open to and appreciative of the independence U.S. schools promote. They thought it would have been difficult to provide such experiences

to their children back in Bangladesh. However, they also believed that because of high degree of independence, respect for teachers is lower than they expected it should be in the U.S. schools. Back in Bangladesh, teachers have high respect and students are expected to show respect by standing up when they see a teacher or give ‘salam⁶’. They are taught to see teachers as the master of knowledge and they should not engage in argument with teachers. In the schools where the children of the parents of this study go to, teacher is more like a senior colleague with whom you can disagree, argue or call by their name. But these are seen as not respectful behavior by parents. Shuchorita mentioned that parents have to continuously remind their children to show due respect to their teachers. Zarifa was also not happy the way teacher-student relation is perceived here. She thought while a friendly relation is good, students must obey teachers and show due respect. Particularly school-going children should not argue with teachers or call them by name. So, the parents tried to find a middle ground where they can let their children be open, independent and expressive, but at the same time honor their own culture of respecting teachers and accepting their authority. For example, Zarifa mentioned that she encouraged her son to engage in respectful debate with teachers where he would address them with due respect, engage in debate and be expressive of his opinions in a very humble way, and at the end if his opinion differs from the teachers, he should accept that teacher has the better knowledge or at least should never disregard teacher’s opinion and expertise. This was a way for parents to integrate both the cultures and identities and create a newer form of identities where they and their children would redefine teacher-student relationship. The examples provided in this section bring in the

⁶ Islamic way of greeting others, particularly elders.

concept of ideoscapes proposed by Appadurai (1990, 1996, 2002). There are different ideologies in Bangladeshi and U.S. culture in relation to authority, independence, teacher-student relation and respect. These differences provide a complex ideoscape to navigate. But this does not necessarily result in disjuncture only. Parents understand the differences and tried to find a way to interconnect the competing cultural expectations. The cultural negotiations become hybrid as suggested by Bhabha (1994) and more fluid and changing as identity is perceived by Hall (1990). But this hybridity or fluidity is not thoughtless; rather parents attempted to find a way to interconnect the differences through careful and intentional choices.

Schooling, Culture and Intergenerational Relations

One major challenge of the U.S. schooling for Bangladeshi parents is it is making children more Americanized and parents often face difficulties connecting with them. As children go to school regularly and spend a significant amount of time, they become more used to mainstream U.S. norms and values. Although there are students who represent diverse cultures, white American values and norms are still the dominating force there. Different cultures are celebrated on special days and occasions, but regular school curriculum, day to day activities and classroom culture is very much mainstream white American. Children quickly learn that white American culture is mainstream and should be followed. Thus, children accept American culture little by little on a daily basis, which gradually increases the difference between children and their parents' expectations and culture. Some parents felt that the fear of maintaining the balance between cultural continuity and change is a challenge of rapid migration in globalized context. While

many expect globalization to be a binding force between people from different background, schooling in a globalized context is creating a fracture within the homes of minority immigrants by creating distance between parents and children. Avijit opined that while they, as parents, came to the U.S. as first generation immigrants and were schooled in their own home country, most of their children were born and brought up in the USA. He thought schooling is the main driving force that redefined the relation between first generation immigrant parents and their U.S. born children. Because, through schooling they learn U.S. culture and lifestyle most and they incline to practice more of that culture than Bangladeshi culture. While globalization, according to these parents, creates opportunities for a better economic life through immigration, there is a cultural cost that has to be paid for it as Avijit mentioned, “They [children] will learn American culture, no matter how hard we try to promote ours. It is very difficult (Translated)”. Reza reflected from her own experience of living in Bangladeshi communities in the U.S. that first generation parents are very eager to maintain Bangladeshi culture, norms and celebrate its festivals. But their children do not seem to be strongly attached to it. They attend Bangladeshi programs and festivals, but they keep engaged in talking in English with their fellow Bangladeshi friends there on topics of their own interests, which is often about American sports, games, videos, movies and so on. He noticed that children celebrate programs like Christmas, Halloween more than Bangladeshi programs such as Eid and Bengali New Year because those programs are mainstream and celebrated in schools. So, there is always a discussion and awareness among children about these American programs, which is not the case for any programs and festivals of any minority community. Nandini also have similar observation, but with a view from children’s

perspectives. She mentioned that as soon as children go to school, retaining Bangladeshi values, culture, and religion becomes difficult and the conflict is inevitable. Children have peer pressure and it's difficult for them to balance their friends' expectations, their outside world and the teaching in home they are getting. That is a big challenge for children.

While parents are open in letting their children embrace many aspects of mainstream U.S. society, there are few areas frequently mentioned by parents where navigating intergenerational relation becomes challenging for parents. One such area is children's sense of independence in relation to their educational and career choices. Bangladeshi parents prefer a more collective way of living where they, as elders, should have an authority figure and a say in their children's life. They want to give an opinion in their future college and subject choice, career aspirations and major life decisions such as marriage. But parents feel, due to strong promotion of individuality in the U.S. culture and particularly in schools, children develop a strong voice where parents' voice are not often considered enough or respectfully enough. Ishrat mentioned that she tried to advise her son on his study and career choices. But she noticed that her son has developed a strong voice on these issues and do not necessarily agree with her. Ishrat's son Tahsan stated, "I want to be a youtuber, or a football player. But mom does not like that". He has his own career and education plans and do not appreciate his mothers' opinions at the level Ishrat expects.

The other areas mentioned by parents are culture of night out and adolescent girls' dress code. Towhid, as father of her adolescent daughter Laila, mentioned, "We do not accept any boyfriend before marriage, no sleep over. They also have to maintain dress

code that is appropriate in our culture and religion. Luckily, they comply with this".

However, not all parents believed that the adolescent girls they know are eager to comply with parental expectations regarding dress codes. Some parents believed children are eager to follow the Western practices of night out and dress codes. In Bangladesh these were not common practices. Besides, parents in Bangladesh could exert their authority as elder figures whenever there was any potential issue regarding these. However, this authority is difficult to exercise in the U.S. because of its individualized nature of society and lack of Bangladeshi cultural model in the community where they live. Bangladeshi parents do not prefer the culture of night out of their adolescent children. Even in Bangladesh, they were usually not allowed to stay out of home at night when they were adolescents. Similarly, they do not want their children to do night out here in the U.S. either. This is common source of discontent. Besides, Bangladeshi parents remain worried about adolescent girls' dress code. They have reservations in letting their adolescent daughters follow western dress code. On the other hand, girls do not mind and often feel group pressure to comply with the mainstream dress code. Thus, that becomes another religious and cultural source of disagreement between parents and children. Similar discontents were found in other researches such as Alam's (2013) and Rahman's (2014). Dilruba shared her concern that when her daughter will reach adolescence, she would prefer her daughter to follow dress code that Islamic religious norms and Bengali culture promote. But she thought it might be difficult for her because her daughter will be interacting with friends in the U.S. While Dilruba would love to see her daughter making good friends, she is also concerned how to teach her daughter on where to draw boundaries on certain things such as dress up in a way so that her daughter does not feel

isolated or mental dilemma, but at the same time maintain her own cultural and religious practices. Zarifa, although do not have an adolescent girl, has closely interacted with several parents who have adolescent children. She elaborated from her experience of observing other Bangladeshi families that have adolescent girls,

The girls I have seen, it's a bit tough to raise them here. Suppose, in our culture we do not wear shorts or bikinis. But here they [girls] are mixing with 10 other American friends. When these 10 friends wear, she will also want to wear. Otherwise, if she does not wear, she will feel inferior to her friends. She will feel what [they] are thinking about me, I am uncultured. Then she will have a dilemma. And she is afraid of mother. Mother forbid to wear [bikinis or shorts]. You cannot blame girls for this. She is trying to adjust with this culture (Translated).

To deal with these expectation gaps in intergenerational relations, parents typically tried to clearly communicate their cultural expectations at home and follow up on this. They thought it is good to communicate it when the child is young and regularly follow up. So, parents try to talk to children about their study and overall experience in school on a regular basis. Parents also try to give them a sense of what is expected and what is not in their own culture, so children can draw a line between Bangladeshi and the U.S. culture and maintain a boundary. Parents felt if children are taught about cultural expectation from an early age, they do not need to be micro-managed when they grow older. They can then be given freedom. They hope with the freedom, they will still behave within the expectation of Bangladeshi cultural norms and values, particularly on certain things where parents feel strongly about such as night out, dress code, and so on. With this cultural learning from childhood, parents later promote more open and democratic discussion with adolescent children on how to maintain a balance between these different cultural values and norms. But they accept the fact that at the end this is their children's life and it is up to them how they decide to live it. Zarifa elaborated,

The way you [parents] bring up [children] from childhood, they will be like that... You need to discuss [from childhood] that they can do what they want to do. But share your expectations and bindings. Then if s/he [child] says s/he will do what his/her friends do, [ask your child to] tell friends this is my culture. If you still want to wear [western clothes], you can. You [parents] give your lessons, you need to say what you want, but it is up to her. She [child] will decide if she wants to listen. You leave it on her. There is no other way. If you force her, she will wear, but then remove them [once they are out of home]. (Translated)

The other way that some parents followed on these particular issues is by maintaining separate expectations for interaction with Bangladeshi and the U.S. culture. For example, while mixing with the U.S. friends, some parents remained open to let their children follow dress codes or practices that is acceptable in the U.S. culture, while maintaining Bangladeshi cultural norms and dress codes while interacting with Bangladeshi community.

The findings discussed in this section depict challenges parents faced in maintaining balance between continuity and change in intergenerational relations. As Appadurai (1990, 1996, 2002) suggested, there are disjuncture and difference in how parents felt about their culture and identity, particularly in relation to several key cultural aspects of the U.S. society. Schooling acted as a force to further escalate these differences. There was reluctance, tension and fear among parents to let their children fully embrace cultural norms around night outs, dress codes, independent career choices and so on. The ideoscape was complex and often full of contrasting demands. But parents were not rigid or fixated on maintaining cultural continuity. They were accepting of a possibility to interconnecting these different expectations and ready to make informed compromises in intergenerational relation in a manner that can cope with the norms of both the culture.

Schooling and Language

Language has been a common theme related to schooling where parents had to navigate significant cultural differences. Parents were concerned that their children were losing interest in Bangla and gradually becoming English monolingual at home and school. Parents noticed that as soon as children get used to talk in English in school, they do not want to speak Bangla at home. Parents strongly felt Bangla language is a big part of their identity. If children lose touch with Bangla, they lose their identity as Bengali. All the children, involved in the study, as either research participants or as interviewed parents' children, did not know how to read or write in Bangla. They can understand and talk in Bangla, but they cannot read or write. This worried parents. Parents tried to teach them Bangla reading and writing, but children seemed to be uninterested. Parents thought this was one big negative affect of being an immigrant in a globalized world. Children always communicate with their friends and schoolmates in English. Even when they get together with other Bangladeshi kids similar age, they interact in English. It is only at home, they talk in Bangla with their parents. But parents found that they are often interested in talking in English or using a mix of Bangla and English. Living in a foreign land where English is pervasive everywhere and Bangla does not have much social or economic value, learning Bangla does not motivate children much. Sabbir mentioned, "She [her 5 year old daughter] understand many thing [in Bangla], but does not want to speak. She says that she will not learn [Bangla] anymore (Translated)". Yasmin also faced the same issue. Although her children speak Bangla at home and with relatives, they do not want to read and write. Besides, when they speak with other Bangladeshi friends, they speak English. Zarifa also mentioned that her 12 year old son does not want

to speak Bangla even at home. Zarifa and her spouse talks in Bangla with him, while he replies in English. Zarifa's son Farhan confirmed, "I feel comfortable speaking English. My friends, even my Bangladeshi friends, do not want to speak [Bangla]. I at least speak [Bangla] better than Fahad (referring to another friend)". Zarifa has requested her son's cousin who lives in Bangladesh to teach him some Bangla words. Zarifa tries to call in Bangladesh everyday so that her son can speak to his similar aged cousin and learn Bangla from her.

Children's preference to speak English has created distance between parents and children as well. Although parents thought that they themselves are good in functional and communicative English, it is the English embedded in a specific culture, that they cannot reach. But their children who are schooled in the U.S. and learn the culture, know the nuances and cultural interactions in English. So, parents felt a gap when they tried to interact with their children. Because of this cultural gap, parents felt they often lacked in communication with their children even if they try to speak in English with them. Back in Bangladesh, Mustafiz mentioned, many children including his own one, went to English medium school. They learnt some aspects of American and European culture in the English medium schools in Bangladesh. But still they are embedded in a large Bangladeshi cultural setting. In contrast, in the U.S., the cultural context is different altogether and the white American culture is predominant on which parents have little understanding, but their children is relatively comfortable with. This gap is expressed in their language as well even if they speak same English language. As Mustafiz elaborated in frustration,

Yes, it sometime happens [gap due to language]. Like we have many spoken words in Bangla, we can express ourselves fully. You will not find them in

literature or written Bangla. Similarly, he [son] has spoken English words and gestures. We do not understand those. We have never learnt those in textbooks. So, he feels a gap with us... This gap is increasing as he is growing up.

Mustafiz mentioned these culturally embedded ways of speaking in English and the cultural know-hows of the language are the important markers of cultural exclusions and inclusions. This is where they felt short as parents observed a growing gap with their son. He thought, globalization brought them here in the U.S., but still it is a white dominated country where English has the ultimate triumph as a language. This English is not just a functional communicative English, it is the cultural expression through English that is the most powerful tool to screen people to include or exclude. This not only creates hindrance for Mustafiz to make friends with mainstream white Americans, it also created distance within his own family, between him and his son.

As for language parents tried to come up with strategies that was mentioned in several previous researches such as Wu (2011), Adair and Tobin (2008) and Jones-Diaz (2016). Parents decided to be selective on their children's language development. The accepted the fact children might not learn Bangla to its fuller competency. So, parents contended themselves with their children develop full competencies in English through their schooling and socialization. Parents put their energy on making sure their children understand Bangla fully and keep speaking it at home, with family members and in Bangladeshi community. Ishrat mentioned, 'It would have been great if Tahsan could write in Bangla or read Bangla books. But I am happy at least he speaks Bangla with me, his cousins and grandparents in Bangladesh (Translated)'. Zarifa also stated that she assigned Farhan's cousin in Bangladesh to talk to him and teach him Bangla so that he can understand and speak it. This support the ideas of identity proposed Hall (1990) and

Bhabha (1994) as parents develop a fluid, adjustable and hybrid language identity for their families. But there is also a method to it. Parents realized the situation and made intentional decisions on how to ensure Bangla is not lost, rather their children can draw on both. They had to compromise and adjust to their expectations, but at least they were able to enforce a strategy that helped balance and interconnect the expectations around cultural change and continuity in a direction that makes sense to their families.

Navigating Diversity and Segregation

Schools that children of Bangladeshi parents attend are diverse in terms of students' presence from different racial, ethnic, religious, cultural and language backgrounds. Children interact with other children from different cultural backgrounds, learn together with them and make friends with them. It is a key strength of the U.S. schools in an increasingly globalized world, parents felt. In Partho's words,

This is really good thing [diversity] for U.S. Not only education, then they learn about what the Chinese New Year is, what the Indian color festival is, what the Eid-ul-ul-Fitr is. Different things they understand that will broaden up their knowledge through different culture.

On the other hand, Bangladeshi schools are largely homogeneous in terms of racial, ethnic, cultural, religious and language backgrounds. Parents were taught in that homogeneous context. But their children are learning in a more diverse classroom culture. Parents, as bearing high expectation from their children, try to help them at home in their learning. While they appreciate its diversity, they felt they did not have that nuanced cultural understanding of U.S. classrooms, its strengths and issues as diverse classrooms. Because of these differences in school culture, parents felt it is difficult for them to connect to the school and their children's learning actively. While they attended

their children's schools on different parent's days or school events, they felt it was difficult for them to give an informed opinion about the nuances of their children's classroom. Back in Bangladesh, educated parents are typically well informed of the classroom culture and teaching-learning strategies, so they can communicate with teachers and share their views and expectation. But here in the U.S., they felt they did not have enough understanding of the nuances of the classroom culture and pedagogy. So, sometimes they shied away in sharing their views and expectations with teachers or limited the conversation with teachers with children's academic performances only and not so much on their social interactions and friendships in a diversified classroom.

With the potential strengths of a diverse classroom, came the issue of segregation. School is where children become aware of their identity differences. Their racial experiences ranged from racial awareness, to micro racism to racial bullying. Parents of young children noticed that their children became aware of their racial identity as early as their day care. When their children saw they have to interact and stay with children and teacher with different skin color, language, they initially struggled. But adjusted later on. For example, Rahat mentioned that when her daughter first went to day care she saw kids and teachers of different color. She behaved in a very different manner than she used to behave in a Bangladeshi community. She knew that she was in a different place. However, she has gradually coped up and was able to put her trust.

Some parents noticed there is a selection on how children interact with peers in schools. Lopa mentioned that although her daughter is only 6 years old, she has a pattern of interactions in class. Friendship among children in her class is divided based on race and skin color. Lopa observed that brown kids prefer to interact with other brown kids.

Same is true for white and black kids. When it comes to interacting with one another, Lopa found that her daughter preferred to interact with white kids and white kids also liked to mix with brown kids. But there is clearly a difference with black kids. This disturbed her and she felt there must be something in classroom culture that promoted racial divide. Lopa mentioned,

Now she [daughter] has many friends in school. But she tells me that in school white kids mix with other white kids, Black kids mix with black kids. I ask what you are? She says 'I am white'. That means she can mix with white kids. She says they have one group for white kids and another for black kids (Translated).

Lopa noted that her daughter's identity as a brown kid, at least for now, has been collapsed into white identity and there is a clear segregation between white and black kids. She mentioned that although she lives in a liberal town, still children's interaction in classroom is racially divided. She mentioned with frustration that although she did not teach her child to pick friends based on skin color, her daughter somehow developed a preference for whiteness. Lopa thought that perhaps an implicit part of the class's culture.

Parents also mentioned that there is existence of micro-racism. It is not expressed directly, but they and their children can feel the difference. For example, Dilruba and Omar mentioned that they could sense a difference in behavior, the way they greeted or talked, among some staff and teachers in their son's previous schools. The same teachers and staff showed different behaviors with other white parents. Some parents whose children go to middle schools, also mentioned that their children experienced racial bullying from few other kids of their classes. In general, parents felt uncomfortable on talking about these divides and segregations. They were concerned talking about these issues might affect their children's interaction with friends and their psyche. Instead, the general strategy was to encourage them to mix with all the children irrespective of their

racial and ethnic backgrounds. Few parents, however, talked occasionally with their children, particularly the grown-up ones. While they talked with their children about the matter, they encouraged them to remain positive, be open and accepting to other children and staff and not necessarily complain or fight back too much. There was fear among parents that speaking up could lead to further segregation; so, they tried to be cautious on how they teach their children to deal with these.

Chapter Summary

Parents' response to their children's schooling was complex. They were excited about their children's prospect of a good quality education, but they were also cautious on how they would deal with inevitable cultural differences. They saw school as the most powerful anchoring force for their children in the U.S., and were appreciative of its creative way of teaching-learning and its diversity; but at the same time, they were aware of the differences in learning culture, teacher-student relations, teacher-parent relations, potential intergenerational distance, fear of compromising their native language and racial segregation in U.S. schools. Parents resorted to a range of strategies to navigate the differences. On occasions they tried to act intentionally to capitalize on both the strengths of the U.S. and Bangladeshi learning culture. For example, while they let their children learn how they learn at school, they also tried to provide bridging and extra coaching so that children can be better prepared to anchor strongly in the U.S. society. Parents also attempted to redefine how their children would engage with their teachers while they maintain both the expectations of U.S. and Bangladeshi culture. On other occasions, parents redefined their own expectations to cope with the changing demands as a result of

schooling. For example, parents had to compromise their wish for their children to develop full competency in Bangla. They had to keep satisfied with their children learning to understand and speak Bangla only, while they develop more comprehensive skill set in English. Parents also had to negotiate a range of issues in inter-generational relations, particularly related to adolescent girls. While navigating these issues, parents resorted to more advisory role as opposed to directive role and accepted the fact their children would ultimately decide on these issues. On matters related to racial segregation, parents either engaged in discussion with their children, or kept silent as they felt a sense of helplessness since they were not sure how to properly address this issue. Overall, parents' engagement in their children's schooling showed a complex set of intentional behavior such as enthusiasm, selectivity, compromise, reluctance and fear as they embraced hopes and opportunities, navigated competing and contradictory demands, and faced segregation and alienation. Overall, the findings support the ideas of cultural identity proposed by Hall and hybridity suggested by Bhabha as parents constantly redefined their ideoscapes of culture and identity, not in a fixed but fluid manner. But parents did these navigations with intentions and purposes with selectivity and choice in a manner that interconnect the competing cultural expectations in contrast to randomly following or accepting any changes.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

In this study I explored how Bangladeshi parents in the USA navigate and negotiate their culture and identity as immigrant parents. In this era of rapid globalization, the idea of fixed identity and culture is in challenge. People are crossing national boundaries and making their homes outside of their homelands in an unprecedented rate. Globalization has given the opportunity for people to keep connected to multiple physical, virtual and cultural spaces at the same time. Human being is increasingly interacting with other people from different culture, identity and value systems; but at the same time, they can also keep connected to their homelands as a result of improved communication and technology. This new reality has called for a newer, fluid and nuance understanding of human identities and culture. Within these broader realities of globalization, I have attempted to learn about Bangladeshi immigrant parents' identity and culture negotiations as they engaged in parenting in the USA. In particular, I have studied the lived experiences of parents located in Western Massachusetts which is a non-traditional immigration destination for them. Bangladeshi parents are highly underrepresented in academic literature and the limited available research largely attempted to understand Bangladeshi immigrant families located in large metropolitan cities. This research, in contrast, attempted to understand Bangladeshi parents situated in a non-traditional destination such as Western Massachusetts and learn about their identity and culture negotiations as immigrant parents.

My main research question was to understand Bangladeshi parents' lived experiences of parenting in the USA and how parenting served as an important site for cultural and identity shifts in an era of globalization. More specifically, I aimed at answering three research questions:

1. How are immigrant Bangladeshi parents' identities shaped by the cultural encounter and experiences in relation to parenting?
2. How do parents navigate transnational spaces to negotiate and navigate cultural differences and maximize their benefits as parents?
3. What are parents' experiences in relation to their children's schooling and how they navigate it?

In the literature review chapter, I outlined and discussed different existing theoretical perspectives of identity and culture in an era of globalization. I have also presented existing literature on identity and culture negotiation of immigrant parents in general and Bangladeshi parents in particular. For this study, Guattari's concept of 'existential territory' (Guattari, 1995, 2000), Appadurai's ideas of 'scape' in explaining the process of globalization (Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2002), Hall's concept of cultural identity (Hall, 1990), and Bhabha's idea of cultural hybridity (Bhabha, 1994) served as theoretical resources. As an umbrella concept the idea of globalization as rapid, disjunctive, fluid and hybrid are used to guide the study. These theoretical perspectives situated the study within a nuance, complex, subjective, and multi-dimensional framework of understanding rather than a singular, binary and polarized understanding of parents' and their identity. In this chapter, I provide a synthesis of key findings in relation to my research questions and compare them with existing literature. I further provide a

big picture and final synthesis of my research findings. This chapter also outlines the contribution of this research to the field of immigrant scholarship and makes some suggestions for potential future research.

Synthesis of Key Findings in relation to Research Questions

The subsequent sections briefly present the synthesis of the key findings in relation to my research questions.

Parenting and Identity

The first research question was aimed at learning about identity negotiations of parents as they attempted to anchor their lives in a place which has significantly different cultural system than their own. Findings suggested that Bangladeshi parents' lives as immigrants is situated in a complex, fluid and diverse environment of identity negotiation in this era of globalization. Their lives were largely constituted between the contrasting demands of disjuncture and prospects of opportunities and hopes. At one side, globalization created a sense of disjuncture comprised of nostalgia, otherness and loss. These findings were consistent with some other family research on immigrant families. For example, homeland as a referral point (Espiritu, 2003; Maiter & George, 2003; Wolf, 1997), the experiences of alienation and discrimination (Bakalian & Bozorgmehr, 2009; Li, 2001; Ross-Sheriff, Tirmazi, & Walsh, 2007) and the loss of support (Russo, Lewis, Joice et al., 2015)-all provide a scenario of disjuncture for immigrants separated from the mainstream society. The data collection of this study coincided with 2016 U.S. presidential election. It was evident that the fear of being subjected to religious and racial

discrimination as immigrants was prevalent among parents as they were anticipating their lives in Trump's America. The fear and sense of alienation were always there, but it escalated significantly under Trump's presidency. Overall, their senses of nostalgia, fear, alienation, otherness and loss of support pointed towards a dissociation, a separation from the mainstream society that they are living in. Theoretically, these findings support Appadurai's ideas of globalization as providing a disjointed experience for immigrants separated from the larger society they are located in (Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2002).

But this was not the entire story. Parents also found hope, opportunity, inclusion and a prospect of interconnecting the different identities to create a newer way of becoming that make sense to their immigrant lives in the era of globalization. They were not stuck in the binary of cultural continuity vs change, rather they were open to embrace both as these made sense to their new lives and provided parents with a better sense of existence. There are several family researches that support the ideas of changes and cultural negotiations (see Jones-Diaz, 2016; Kuran & Sandholm, 2008; Sanagavarapu, 2010; Tam, et al., 2012; Tam & Chan, 2015). Parents had to negotiate a range of aspects where their identities are reshaped. Their identities as previously embedded in a collectivist society and currently situated in an individualistic society, parents' experiences in relation to their gender, religion, class and racial identities had to be negotiated. Thus, parents went through significant changes, often contrasting, as they constructed a new way of being. The findings point towards the limitation of the existing academic scholarship on Bangladeshi families where parents are largely seen as resistant to change; rather interested in maintaining cultural continuity and withdraw from

mainstream societies in their host nations (for example, Alam, 2013; Barn, 2002; Begum & Khondaker, 2008; Bose, 2014; Rahman, 2014).

Theoretically, these findings support the perspectives on cultural identity (Hall, 1990, 1996) where identity is seen as a process that is never completed, rather “fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions (Hall, 1996, p. 4)”. The findings also support Bhabha’s concept of hybridity where immigrants’ experiences are described as belonging to a ‘third space’ that is constructed through cultural translation and negotiation between different cultural systems (Bhabha, 1994, p. 38). However, parents were not helpless or entirely vulnerable to this rapidly changed reality. While many aspects of their new lives were not their choices, they were mindful and intentional to navigate this complex terrain in a manner that helped them successfully cope with their new lives. They were not fully resistant to change or vigorously attempted to maintain the continuity of their homeland, neither were they unmindfully open to embrace any changes or hybrid existences that the new cultural systems offered. It was not cultural fixation without purpose, neither it was cultural change or hybridity without intention. It was more subjective and intentional interconnection where parents were mindful of the opportunities and challenges and attempted to navigate these complex landscapes with intention, choice and agency within the given reality to create a new of existence that is beneficial for them and their children. Parents mindfully navigated different spaces, ideoscapes, ethnoscaples and mediascapes to create a new existential territory for them. This new territory was comprised of both disjuncture and interconnection where parents affectively hold themselves together through intentional choices and mindful actions.

Navigating Transnational Spaces

Parents' lives as immigrants in the context of globalization involved interacting with three physical spaces that transcended the traditional boundary of physical spaces to make sense of their new identities and to create a new existence. As mentioned earlier, parents' experiences of disjuncture, hope and opportunity faced them with a unique situation. At one hand, parents were eager to maintain some aspects of cultural continuity similar to what was observed in some other family research on immigrant families (for example, Espiritu, 2003, Falicov, 2005; Hughes, Rodrigues, Smith et al, 2006; Sua´rez-Orozco & Sua´rez-Orozco, 2001; Wolf, 1997; Yearwood, 2001). But they were also aware of the possibilities, opportunities and hopes that their new physical spaces and culture offered. Parents used physical spaces such as Western Massachusetts, New York and their homeland Bangladesh to make sense of these complex demands and opportunities. Parents were appreciative of Western Massachusetts as a liberal place which is relatively welcoming for immigrants. The sense of safety and belonging this space provided helped them overcome the disjuncture they faced. The fear of religious and racial discrimination, primarily instilled by the media, was largely subsided because of their perception that they will be relatively safe in this place. Parents were also keen on intentionally capitalizing on other benefits this place offered such as interacting with a multicultural population, learning from diverse culture, multicultural modelling of parenting, available parenting support networks and institutional supports for parenting. However, they were also aware that it is relatively difficult to keep connected with their ancestral homeland and culture because of low presence of Bangladeshis in the region. To compensate for that, parents kept regular connection with New York where there is

large presence of Bangladeshi immigrants and regular high concentration of activities highlighting Bangladeshi culture, festivals and language. Besides, parents further kept connected to Bangladesh while physically located in Western Massachusetts as their root. They did it through bringing key family members such as their own parents, celebrating Bangladeshi food, exercising Bangla language at home, and keeping regular connection with friends and families in Bangladesh through technology. They also tried to visit Bangladesh so that they and their children can keep anchored to their ancestral homeland. All these intentional choices and activities refer to an interconnection of different physical spaces to maintain cultural continuity and building on new opportunities at the same. Thus, the definition of physical space as homeland becomes deterritorialized (Guattari, 1995, 2000) and fluid. These places promoted more hybridized and fluid ways recreating their identities as suggested by Bhabha (1994) and Hall (1990).

These interactions also refer to a complex flow of ideoscape, ethnoscape, technoscape and mediascape (Appadurai, 199, 1996, 2002) across different physical spaces to create a new sense of homelands. Parents' ethnoscape not only included key friends and families in Bangladesh, they also reached out to Bangladeshis in New York and Western Massachusetts. Moreover, their ethnoscape was not homogenous only. They were keen on connecting with people from diverse culture living in Western Massachusetts. The interaction among different physical spaces also provided opportunity to learn about different ideologies and cultural norms around parenting in order to create a newer form of practice for their own. Besides, parents deliberately used the physical spaces to subside their fear established through different mediascapes. Parents also used the technoscapes to 'travel' through different physical spaces to keep

connected to their ancestral homelands and make culturally informed choices as they navigated different cultural expectations in relation to parenting,

The majority of other available research on Bangladeshi immigrant families showed Bangladeshi parents lives largely as a struggle to maintain cultural continuity (Alam, 2013; Barn, 2002; Begum & Khondaker, 2008; Bose, 2014; Rahman, 2014). This research addressed parents' wish to be connected to their ancestral homeland and culture but goes beyond that and highlighted their desire and intention to keep connected to their new homeland, capitalize on the potential benefits of it and in turn create a new understanding of home that is not loyal to a single place only, rather inclusive of multiple spaces. Besides, while existing research on Bangladeshi families addressed families in large cities with high Bangladeshi presence, these findings call for a nuance understanding of differences in the nature of spaces and importance of contexts where immigrants' lives are situated in. Thus, this research called for a newer understanding of home for Bangladeshi immigrant parents as they make sense of their lives in the rapidly globalized world.

Parenting, Schooling and Diaspora

The third and final research question aimed at learning parents' experiences in relation to their children's schooling and how they navigated it. Similar to parents' overall identity negotiations, globalization faced them with both disjuncture and hope as they navigated complex ideoscapes in relation to their children's schooling. Schooling was the most influential institution that provided them with a hope to succeed their family as immigrants and anchor them strongly in a foreign land. But it also made parents

navigate the unknown terrains as they faced cultural differences. They had to negotiate a range of cultural differences such as differences in teaching-learning, classroom culture, academic expectations, and teacher-student relation. The cultural learning children received in U.S. schools also created challenge in maintaining a healthy intergenerational relation. There were further challenges of sustaining the practice of Bangla language at home. Moreover, parent had to struggle to find a way to navigate the diversity and segregation as they engaged with their children's schooling. Parents embraced the strengths the found in their children schooling such as its creative way of teaching-learning, focus on children's aptitude and interest and practical hands-on pedagogy. Parents also resorted to flexible interconnected strategies on occasions where they thought balancing between their culture and U.S. culture might be helpful. For example, they did bridging and coaching to adjust to their higher levels of academic expectations of their children. They also attempted to redefine teacher-student relation to maintain a balance between independence and authority in teacher-student relations. They had to be selective on issues such as children's language learning where they focused on fuller competency development for English, while they kept content with their children developing only understanding and speaking skills in Bangla. Similar findings in relation to parents' navigation on language were reported in other research (see, Adair & Tobin, 2008; Jones-Diaz, 2016; Wu, 2011). In instances of potential intergenerational rifts particularly in relation to adolescent girls, parents tried to find a balance between advisory and authoritative role to adjust to the differential cultural norms and expectations. Overall, parents used intentionality, enthusiasm, selectivity, compromise and reluctance as they engaged in their children's schooling. Wu's (2011) research noted

similar findings as she studied Chinese mothers' engagement with their children early childhood education in New Zealand.

Parents' engagement in their children's schooling showed a complex set of intentional behavior as they embraced hopes and opportunities, navigated competing and contradictory demands, and faced segregation and alienation. These findings point to a departure from existing scholarship on immigrant Bangladeshi parents' engagement with their children's education. For example, Rahman's (2014) study largely portrayed a feeling of discontent among Bangladeshi mothers in relation to their children's schooling. Alam's (2013) study reported similar findings where parents were largely resistant to cultural changes as a result of schooling which often created intergenerational tensions. The study further reported while parents sometimes reluctantly agreed to let children engage in their personal preferred ways, they themselves largely remained withdrawn from interacting with different values and expectations between their own culture and the U.S. culture. This study acknowledges parents' concern over several cultural aspects reported in previous research; but it goes beyond the narrative of cultural continuity and highlights that parents are actively and intentionally engaged in their children's schooling. They are enthusiastic on gaining maximum benefits for their children from their schooling in the USA; at the same time, they try to further build on the strengths of their own cultural understanding of learning and find a realistic balance between different cultural expectations in relation to schooling. These findings support the ideas of hybridity and cultural identity proposed by Bhabha (1994) and Hall (1990) respectively, but it also goes beyond these and points more towards intentional interconnections. These

intentional actions refer to mindful interconnection of different cultural systems as opposed to resistance, withdrawal and lone focus on continuity.

Final Synthesis and Big Picture

The findings and discussions on research questions lend support to the overarching themes and arguments of the dissertation. The findings have situated immigrant parents lives as complex and nuance experiences of disjuncture, hope and opportunities in a globalized world. It is not linear or straight forward. It is not a binary or one at the expense of others. Globalization has brought rapid and disjunctive changes in their lives by putting them in a new cultural system. But it also offered them with new hope and opportunities and helped them keep connected to their homelands. Parents navigated the contrasting demands of culture and identity through intentionality and informed choices to create a newer form of existence. As the findings suggest, parents were not caught between the binary of cultural continuity or global cultural melting pot. They did not fully embrace cultural homogeneity, neither did they showed full resistance to any changes; rather they tried to carefully choose between different culture and transnational spaces to create a new existence that is inclusive and helped them cope in their new realities. On occasions, the changes brought opportunities and hope that they enthusiastically embraced, while in other instances they faced realities that were not their choice, but they carefully navigated the realities to make intentional decisions. They also tried to find ways to interconnect different parts of the different culture to cope with the new realities.

The analytical framework provided a useful and nuance way to conceptualize this complex issue. Situating globalization as rapid, disjunctive, fluid, deterritorialized and transnational-helped me understand the complexity and multiplicity of the topic. The ideas of cultural identity, hybridity and scapes helped me appreciate the fluid and complex nature of immigrants' lived experiences. As the findings suggested, parents navigated multiple transnational spaces and interconnected different scapes with these spaces to create a new meaning of their experiences. Navigating and interconnecting different transnational spaces and scapes created their physical and emotional existences which Guattari referred as 'existential territory'. Parents' existential territory was thus connected to multiple interconnected spaces and scapes which is fluid and ever changing. As much as the analytical framework helped me conceptualize the topic, there were some important departure points from this framework. For example, as mentioned by Appadurai, one big part of parents' experiences was a feeling of disjuncture. But the findings went beyond this disjuncture and found hope, resilience, inclusion, opportunity and prospect of interconnection. Similarly, the findings supported the ideas of cultural identity and hybridity as their lives and parents' identities were fluid and evolving. But the changes were not unintentional or random, rather were informed by parents' intention, choice and negotiation. Thus, the initial analytical framework helped frame the analysis of this study, but the findings also went beyond the scope of the framework to create a further nuance understanding of the topic. The use of semi-structured interview helped in this regard. While the semi-structured interview allowed me to proceed with questions informed by the analytical framework, openness to new ideas helped generate the findings that highlights the prospects of hope, opportunity and intention.

Contribution to the Field

This study has emphasized the need for a nuance analysis of immigrants' lives that address the intentionality and informed choices of immigrants as they navigate a complex globalized world. The available researches on immigrant families and parents often frame the discourses of their identity in terms of continuity or hybridity but misses out the intentional ways parents negotiate and interconnect these contrasting demands as they navigate disjuncture, hope and opportunities. The aspects of hope, opportunity and intention are occasionally discussed in the literature, but they are rarely made a deliberate and intentional part of the research design or methodology of the research.

This study also highlighted the need of understanding how different contexts and spaces might shape immigrant lives differently. The majority of immigrant literature studies families in large cities or in places where there is larger concentration of a particular immigrant group. This, along with the lack of research on immigrants in non-traditional immigration destinations, often limit understanding of immigrant lives within the binary between their homeland and their immigration destination country. However, there can be significant difference in immigrant parents' experiences based on which place of their destination country they are located in. For instance, Bangladeshi immigrant parents in this study live in Western Massachusetts. But their lives and cultural negotiations may be different than Bangladeshi parents living in New York. Thus this research stressed the need for acknowledging that immigrant parents' lived experiences can be different based on the diverse places and contexts they are situated.

Finally, this research made important contribution by studying Bangladeshi immigrant parents who are underrepresented in immigration scholarship. There are very

few research literatures on Bangladeshi immigrant families. The limited available researches mostly address the lives of Bangladeshi immigrants in large cities such as New York, Boston, Los Angeles or London. This research has helped bring the voices of Bangladeshi immigrants who do not live in large Bangladeshi ethnic enclaves. Besides, the findings of this research situated their lives in a complex, nuance and multidimensional understanding of their identity and culture. These findings call for a newer understanding of their lives which is not limited to the existing linear scholarship that see them largely as isolated, resistant to changes and eager to maintain cultural continuity only.

Direction for Further Research

Understanding of Bangladeshi immigrant parents' lives can be furthered through exploring several potential research avenues. First, lives of parents in other non-traditional immigration destination can be studied. This will help bring more voices from diverse contexts and locations. This study was located in Western Massachusetts which is a relatively liberal and progressive area. Locating research in other places which might have different nature as a place may help develop a more comprehensive understanding of parents' lives and identity negotiations.

Understanding developed through this study can be furthered by conducting other issue-specific research. While this research helped generate a broader understanding of parents' identity and culture negotiation, issue-specific research might help develop more depth of knowledge. For example, identity negotiation of parents with young children or adolescent children can be separately done. Separate study can also be done on fathers

and mothers to learn more about in depth about the cultural aspects of gender dynamics in parenting. Specific focus can also be given on parents' racial, religious or class identities to develop a deeper knowledge on these topics. Another important research can be studying about identity negotiation of Bangladeshi parents in relation to their children's schooling. Intersection between technology, media and parenting can further provide a better understanding of how parents navigate virtual spaces.

Finally, this research was conducted with Bangladeshi parents who have relatively higher educational and economic backgrounds. Their language, social and cultural capital might be different than parents who have lower socio-economic and educational background. Studying parents from diverse socio-economic backgrounds, particularly those located in non-traditional immigration destinations, might help develop deeper understanding on how parents use their capitals as they navigate different transnational spaces and scapes to create their existential territories.

Final Reflections

This research was a personal journey for me as much as it was an academic one. While this study contributed as a research piece on its own right, it also helped me connect to the topic at a personal level. As a parent coming from a different country, I was interested to learn about myself, my journey, negotiations of my own identities and culture as I navigated my life as a parent. Particularly, in difficult times during 2016 U.S. Presidential election, I had a heightened sense of questioning myself as to where I belong and how I recreate my existence in the USA. This study helped me make some progresses in finding answers to these personal questions through a rigorous academic exercise. It

has enlightened me about the struggles, alienations, hopes and opportunities about other parents. While I was mindful of my own subjectivities and tried not to impose my own views on them, I also felt connected at an emotional level with the parents I interviewed. I have learnt to appreciate their struggle, their choices and their mindful efforts of making sense of their own lives. This study also provided me with some useful conceptual and emotional tools to help reflect on my own existential territories. It helped me become more mindful of my own choices and made me aware of how I navigate my own transnational spaces and scapes to create a new way of existence as a parent. This is where this research has transcended the boundary of academic scholarship and became my companion as I navigate my life as a parent.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR PARENTS

Themes and questions

General demographic information: Academic background, profession, age, information about marriage and family

General immigration information: reason for immigration, length of stay in the USA, mobility, career change and major life events in the USA

Perception of own and family's identity: how do you identify yourself and your family in the USA (in relation to race, nationality, religion or a complex mix of multiple identities); how your and your family's experience of life in the USA has changed and shaped this perception in general; how you exhibit your identity or desired identity for children in your parenting practices in general

Perceived difference in parenting in Bangladesh and USA: what are the norms of parenting in Bangladesh and USA; what guiding values determine parenting in these different cultures; what are your moments of dilemma; how do you navigate important parenting decisions across these different cultural spaces

Parenting in the family context: what are regular parenting works at home; how is roles divided among family members; how is fathers and mothers role different in parenting; what are gender differences in rearing boy and girl child; child-parent relation, parent-other family member/caregiver relation; major differences between family practices in child-rearing in Bangladesh and USA; how you navigate these differences; how your identity plays out in home environment in relation to child-rearing

Parenting in the community context: relation between your USA community and home; who constitutes your community in the USA; how connected you are; how connected your children are; type of supports you draw from community members and vice versa; what difference do you see in community role in Bangladesh and USA in shaping your parenting; do the Bangladeshi community in the USA nurture and celebrate Bangladeshi culture; how connected and involved you and your children are in these exercises of nurturing Bangladeshi culture; who else other than Bangladeshis (e.g., South Asians, White Americans, Middle-Eastern and so on) compose your community and social network; how does their culture influence child-rearing in your family; what type of supports to you draw from them, if at all; how do you balance all these multiple cultural interactions in the community context

Parenting and education: status of children's education; your involvement with children's education; what differences do you observe in schooling practices in the USA and Bangladesh; what dilemmas do you face in relation to your children's identity formation in school; how do you navigate identity issues in relation to your children's schooling; how do you draw necessary academic and other supports for ensuring your children's good education; what is your perception of peer relation and school culture

Parenting and formal child-care space: what formal child-rearing options are available for your children's overall development; your access to them; financial, social and cultural barriers in accessing them, your opinion of the quality and relevance of them for your children; any observed cultural practices in these institutions that are different than your culture; how this difference influence your child-rearing decisions?

Navigating parenting across different scapes: what role technology and media play in your parenting decision; how do you use them in informing your parenting decisions; how do technology and media affect your family relations including parent-child relations; how do you manage them; how do use and navigate increased flow of immigration (perhaps your family members) to and from Bangladesh (ethnoscape) in order to inform your parenting; how do you navigate different ideoscapes of parenting (for example different parenting norms Bangladeshi culture, dominant white USA culture and other minority culture that you come in contact with in your community)? How your racial and religious identity influences your parenting; do you feel treated differently because of your racial and religious identities and how does it affect your parenting?

Parenting and maintaining ties with Bangladesh: perceived value of maintaining ties with Bangladesh and its culture; strategies used to maintain such ties; challenges faced in keeping such ties; any parent-child discontent in maintaining such ties

Parenting and larger society: connection between you, your home and people/families from other cultures; how connected you are with them; connection with majority white American; how your children are connected with majority white Americans and children from other cultural backgrounds; what challenges or dilemmas do you face in these interactions; is there any pattern in connection, how important and desirable are these connections to you and the children; how do you want to see your children's life in the USA in future; what social, cultural, religious values, if at all, should guide your children's future life in the USA and why?

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR FAMILY MEMBERS

Themes and questions

General demographic information: Academic background, profession, age, information about family, relation with parents studied in this research

General immigration information: reason for immigration, process of immigration, length stayed in the USA, mobility, career change and major life events in the USA, where located at present

- Time and length of stay in the USA with this family; involvement in rearing of the children in this family or any decision making regarding parenting; types of care or consultation provided
- How you define your and your family's identity in the USA; how your and your family's experience of life in the USA has changed and shaped this perception in general
- How is your identity exhibited in child-rearing practices in general?
- Perceived differences in child-rearing in Bangladesh and USA; dilemmas faced; how do you and your family navigate these dilemmas?
- Involvement of key family members and community members back in Bangladesh in making important decisions about child-rearing in your family in the USA; if so, how; give some examples.
- Perceived differences between parent-child relation and family member-child relation in Bangladesh and the USA; how and why are they different?

- Perceived differences between parent-your/family member relation in Bangladesh and the USA; how and why are they different?
- Effect of schooling in the USA in shaping the culture and identity of the children in your family; how is it different from cultural practices schools in Bangladesh?
- Have your family ever resorted to formal child care such as health care or day care centers in the USA; types of differences noticed in cultural practices in these institutions that are different than your culture; how this difference influence child-rearing in your family?
- Role of Bangladeshi community in the USA in child-rearing decisions of your family; types of supports do you draw from community, if at all.
- People other than Bangladeshis (e.g., South Asians, White Americans, Middle-Eastern and so on) that compose your community and social network; how do their culture influence child-rearing in your family?
- Your and your family's connection with people/families from other cultures, particularly with majority white Americans; connection of the children in your family with them; how important and desirable are these connections to you and the children? In what capacity?
- Challenges or dilemmas you face in these interactions of different cultural encounters.
- Influence of the rapid advancement of technology, media and increased migration of people to and from Bangladesh on cultural practices in relation to parenting in your family; how does your family navigate these new realities?

- The value you put on for the children of your family in the USA to maintain ties with Bangladesh and its culture; strategies you and your family use to maintain such ties; challenges you and your family face in keeping such ties.
- How do you want to see the life of the children in your family in future; social, cultural, religious values, if at all, that should guide their future life in the USA and why?

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR CHILDREN

Themes and questions

General demographic information: age, education, school, grade

- Type of things you usually do at home in a typical day; amount of time spend with your family members; typical things you do with your parents and family members.
- Who are your close friends; how do you know them; which country they are from?
- Differences you notice between your friends' culture and your home culture.
- Your familiarity with Bangladeshi people in your neighborhood or community; how do know them; how frequently or on what occasions do you meet them?
- Do you attend Bangladeshi community programs? How do you like them?
- Typical things you do in school apart from studying; how do you like your school?
- Differences you notice between your school's culture and your home culture.
- Have you visited Bangladesh ever? How did you like your stay in Bangladesh?
- Give some examples of issues that you typically have more similar opinions to your parents.
- Give me of some examples of issues that you typically have more different opinions to your parents; how do you deal with these differences?
- Things/characteristics of American culture that you like very much.
- Things/characteristics of Bangladeshi culture do you like very much.

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR COMMUNITY MEMBERS

Themes and questions

General demographic information: Academic background, profession, age,
Acquaintance with parents studied in this research

General immigration information: reason for immigration, process of immigration,
length of stay in the USA, mobility, career change and major life events in the USA

- Have you raised your children in the USA; your general experience of raising your children in the USA.
- How do you define your and your family's identity in the USA; How your and your family's experience of life in the USA has changed and shaped this perception in general?
- Do Bangladeshi parents in the community come for your advice or share their experiences related to their parenting; types of issues you typically hear from them?
- Observed differences of Bangladeshi parents' child-rearing practice over time; any changes noticed in them in terms of coming for elderly members' advice or types or advice they seek for or the issues they share with.
- Observed differences in parenting practices in Bangladeshi parents located in Bangladesh and the USA; dilemmas Bangladeshi parents face in the USA; How do they navigate these dilemmas?
- Observed differences in relation between children and other family members in the family including parents in Bangladesh and the USA; How and why are they different?

- Observed differences in community members' role, specifically elder community members' role, in child-rearing in the USA and Bangladesh.
- Your perception of how schooling in the USA is shaping the culture and identity of children in the Bangladeshi families; how is it different from schools in Bangladesh; how is it affecting Bangladeshi immigrant families in the USA?
- Have you noticed any cultural practices in formal child care spaces such as day care centers or child health service centers in your locality that are different from your culture; how this difference influence child-rearing in Bangladeshi community?
- Influence of the rapid advancement of technology, media and increased migration of people to and from Bangladesh on the cultural practices of Bangladeshi immigrants in relation to parenting in your community; how do these families navigate these new realities?
- How do you value that the children of Bangladeshi families in the USA should maintain ties with Bangladesh and its culture; parents' and children's enthusiasm in keeping these ties; challenges do you see lie ahead in keeping such ties.
- Connection of Bangladeshi families in the USA with people/families from other cultures, including majority white Americans, South Asians, Middle-Eastern; importance and desirability of these connections for Bangladeshi families and community.
- Challenges or dilemmas do Bangladeshi parents face in these interactions of different cultural encounters.

- How do you want to see the life of the children of Bangladeshi community in future?

What social, cultural, religious values, if at all, should guide their future life in the USA and why?

APPENDIX E

THEMES FOR GENOGRAM CONSTRUCTION BY PARENTS

- Composition of family and relationship among family members;
- Demographic information (such as age, sex, marital status, location) of family members;
- Parents connection to their families living in the USA (if any);
- Parents connection to their families back in Bangladesh

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